UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE POLITICAL PARTY AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

VIVA BELLE BOOTHE

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

PHILADELPHIA
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VIVA B. BOOTHE.

Philadelphia, September, 1923.

TO MY
FATHER AND MOTHER

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I

The Political Party as a Social Process

To study the political party as a social process is to consider the political party as the formal result of the customary political activities of a people as they are developed by a series of reactions and adaptations to environmental conditions.

Whatever may have been the process in the long period of man's development, through which he has learned to respect government, we have the fact of delegated authority in one form or another, as a practically universal phenomenon among all peoples in all lands. However, although the idea of delegated authority and government may be universal, the institutional manifestations of it, that is, the particular forms which social activity in the field of government may take, are as varied and as changing as are man and his surroundngs.

All of this is but saying that given the predisposition on the part of men to live together in groups under some form of constituted authority, there occur through the processes of repetition, imitation, selection and all the other activities which tend to crystallize the responses of man into customs and habits, certain well-developed forms of behavior with regard to government which in time come to be accepted by the group as the standard mode of activity. Thus political activity tends to become institutionalized. In the further course of development, the political institution thus arising maintains it authority to the extent that it adapts itself to the changing economic and social conditions of which it has become a component part. The resistance of the institution to change is the essence of its strength, while the ability to readjust itself to change is the measure of its survival. A study of social institutions then, involves the discussion of two fundamental problems: (1) The origin, development and character of the institution; (2) the means by which the institution may be adapted to changes in the economic and social environment and the extent to which it has made adjustments from time to time.

In the United States of America where the political activity of the people has assumed the form of a Democracy with a Constitution as a last resort for justice, political activity, since the time of the adoption of the Constitution has been concerned mainly with the interpretation of the Constitution, that is, with the different opinions as to the rights of individuals and groups of individuals in various sections of the country under the Constitution. The rapid development of the United States together with the varied geographical conditions, which early in the history lead to conflicting economic interests, brought about ultimately the formation of political parties which espoused the cause of one group or the other and attempted to control the government and dominate legislation.

The control of political activity by the party machine as we see it developed today has been one of gradual growth since the time of the first political caucus in 1795 when Hamilton, anxious to push Adams, the Federalist candidate, to defeat Jefferson, the anti-Federalist candidate, succeeded in getting a formal decision of the members of the party in Congress to nominate the candidates for president and vice-president and to get them accepted by the electors. It has been said by historians that, "This nomination became the precedent for a practice which completely destroyed the whole scheme of the provisions of the Constitution for election of presidents,"[1] and may be regarded as one of the first germs of political extra-constitutional organization in the United States. A study of the origin, growth and increasing power of this extra-constitutional authority which has developed into the political party machine with its nominating convention, party platform and political campaign, reveals unmistakably the fundamentally social nature of the political party, while the tenacity with which party lines persist and the weight of authority which attaches to them reveals the power of the institutionalization of the political habits of the people.

The social nature of the political party, from the point of view of its origin and development, is to be seen in the alignment

[1] See Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Party System in the United States*, pp. 294–320.

of the two economically divergent sections of the country upon political issues even before the emergence of the two predominant parties which persist today. The persistence of these early sectional alliances and their identification in the ranks of the Democratic and Republican Parties later, not only within the area where the original divergence of economic interest occurred but in areas settled by inhabitants from these different sections as well, indicates that, even though economic interests were responsible in the beginning for the emergence of the two parties, the parties have persisted and extended their influence to a greater extent than is warranted by the issues upon which they were originally established, and long after the original form in which they were cast has become obsolete or at least inadequate to meet changing conditions.

The second aspect of the political party when considered as a social institution is the process by which the formalized political party is made to conform to the changing social and economic conditions arising from man's increasing contacts with his environment. In the United States it is the study of the means by which the political parties have been informed of and forced to recognize the existence of interests unprotected by their organization and policies as originally adopted.

James Bryce was thinking of the political party as a social institution with reference to its resistance to change when he wrote, "It has been a peculiarity of American politics since the Civil War that the two principal parties have been controlled, in the main, either by men of a conservative type who are naturally opposed to taking up any new or radical issues, or by professional politicians who find it to their interest to keep in the foreground the old familiar questions on which parties have been divided in the past and thus draw attention from new issues which are likely to disrupt party lines."[2] A more recent historian[3] was considering the means by which political parties are made to conform to changing environmental conditions when he added to Mr. Bryce's paragraph the statement

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[2] Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, Ch. LII–LVI.

[3] Buck, S. J., *The Granger Movement.*

that, "Consequently the only method by which the advocates of new measures have been able to get them before the public has been by the formation of third parties." . . . "Though these parties have seldom had any lasting or considerable success as parties, they have frequently accomplished their purpose by forcing the adoption of their platforms on one or the other of the old parties, and this it is that gives third parties their importance in American political history." It is then, to a study of the origin, the development and the extent of power of the dissenting groups which have come to be known in American politics as third parties that we must look if we would find the forces which have kept the American Constitution extending its powers and the political parties their policies and platforms.

Part I of this thesis looks to the origin, development and extension of the two-party system in the United States, with an effort to show the binding power of party tradition and the difficulty with which one parts with inherited political ideas and affiliations. In other words, it will deal with the political party as a formal institution from the point of view of origin, development, extension and resistance to change.

Part II seeks to establish the thesis that third parties have been the means by which political parties in the United States have been made to conform to changing economic and social environment. To this end it will be necessary to show, (1) that minority discontent has had its origin in the economic and social environment; (2) that the changes in the economic and social environment have affected a sufficiently large number of the population to make the reform measures urged imperative upon the two main parties; (3) that the two main parties have been forced ultimately to recognize the demands of the third-party reformers and agitators. The analysis of the causes which gave rise to political discontent will consist mainly of a study of the economic and social development of the United States since the Civil War, in those fields where friction has been indicated by the reform measures urged by the agitators. The relative strength of the movements, indicative of the extent to which the proposed reforms have been the outgrowth of wide-

spread economic discontent which is universal enough in character to call for political recognition, will be measured by the number of votes cast in favor of the reform measures. The extent to which reform and protest parties have been able to influence the two major parties will be seen primarily in the changes in the platforms of the two main parties together with their efforts to meet protest demands in campaign issues and in subsequent legislation.

II

The Origin and Extension of Political Parties in the United States

The economic development of the United States early brought about a sectional division of interest between the North and the South which expressed itself in the issue of slavery and was measured by the intensity of the struggle to capture the West. Nor did the struggle cease with the Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves. The war did reveal, however, the extent of the areas of the hostile camps and from that time forward the political influence of the two sections upon the development of the frontier sections has been readily discernible and may be said to be conditioned in part upon the advance of the railroads and the migration of population from the older to the newer sections.

A marked tendency toward a sectional division upon political questions had appeared long before the Civil War. The interests of the New England and Middle Atlantic States which, after 1840, became increasingly industrial and commercial, were by no means coincident with those of the South where the institution of slavery had become firmly rooted and the one-crop cotton system had prevailed. The conflict of interest arising because of these divergent economic developments early manifested itself in a sharp difference of opinion upon various economic policies of sufficient importance to become political issues, of which the tariff struggle, the land question, state sovereignty and the slavery issue were notable examples.

Even before 1820 the South had manifested opposition to internal improvements and to the tariff, both of which measures the majority of the northern states favored. It was also evident by this date that "the slavery issue was not so much an issue between moral and social institutions as an issue of political power between the two sections interested, on the one side, in manufacturing and agriculture with the aid of free labor, and

on the other, in the production of cotton and tobacco under a system of slave labor." During this early period, however, the sections of the country were by no means completely unified. Although the protective tariff sentiment was strongest in the North and East it was not altogether unknown in the South, while there were elements in the population of New England which were inclined to join the South against the tariff. On the tariff question, however, the forces of the South were fairly unanimous by 1824 although the lack of consistency of interests between the protectionists of New England, the Middle Atlantic and the Middle Western States was marked.[1] By 1860 this conflict of interest found expression in the slavery issue which dominated the politics of the country until after the close of the war. It may be said fairly, that every great measure, beginning with the annexation of Texas in 1845, was considered from the point of view of the overthrow or the extension of the institution of slavery. One needs only to recall the conflict over the organization of the territory acquired by the war with Mexico and the debates over the Compromise Bill of 1850 to realize the extent to which sectional interests were behind the political divisions which appeared in this discussion.[2] Nor did the Compromise Bill of 1850 settle the question, although both the Democrats and the Whigs deluded themselves temporarily into believing that it was the final word.[3] The issue was revived at once by the proposition to organize the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and the failure of the Whig Party to cope with the situation regarding the extension of slavery into the territories gave rise to the Republican Party in 1854,[4]

---

[1] The division of forces revealed in the Missouri struggle was strikingly like the division revealed on the tariff question in 1824 and 1828. See Turner, *History of the New West*, p. 243, for maps showing the vote of the House of Representatives on the tariff measures of 1824 and 1828, by states.

[2] Rhodes, *History*, Vol. I, p. 181 for analysis of vote cast on the Compromise Bill of 1850, by states and by sections.

[3] President Pierce congratulated the country at the beginning of his administration that the slavery agitation had ceased and that both parties were pledged to treat a revival of the controversy as an unpatriotic act. See Stanwood, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[4] The Republican Party originated in the Middle West. The first of a series of mass meetings held in 1854, occurred at Ripon, Wisc. State conventions were held in Vermont, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Indiana in July, 1854. Stanwood, *op. cit.*, p. 260; also Rhodes, *History* Vol. II, p. 58 for analysis of election of 1854.

with the extension of slavery as the issue which united its members.

Nowhere is this divergence of sectional economic interest registered more sharply than in the division of sentiment in Congress on the Homestead Bills during the thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-seventh sessions.[5] An analysis of the vote taken shows that the line was sharply drawn between free and slave states. The free states were its enthusiastic supporters while the slave states were bitterly opposed. The basis of Southern opposition is to be found in the fear that they would lose control of the Western states because of their inability to colonize more territory. "The advance of settlement in the United States made the slavery contest a struggle for power between sections, marching in parallel columns into the West, each carrying its system of labor."[6] Whether new states were to be admitted into the Union as free states or as slave states was the vital question and the basis for its importance was to be found in the relative strength of the two sections of the country in Congress.

A more intensive investigation of the political events prior to the Civil War would show even more clearly the extent of sectional division and the general tendency toward an alignment upon political issues in conformance with sectional interests. With the crisis of the Civil War the two sections were forced into hostile camps and by 1876 it was plainly evident that the slave states were openly bound together by the strong bonds of a common grievance while the free states were equally united under the standard of the Republican Party, the exponent of a purely sectional issue. The extent to which the alignment of states appearing at this time has tended to persist is readily seen by a glance at the chart on page 17 which shows the party affiliations of the various states for the eighteen presidential elections from 1856 to 1920. That the party affiliations growing out of this early sectional division of interests have not only persisted within the area in which they were originally

[5] Sanborn, *Federal Land Grants*, pp. 56–61, for analysis of votes on the Homestead Bills in the 35th, 36th and 37th Congresses. The bill was finally passed in 1862.

[6] Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, p. 149.

developed but have extended their influence to contiguous territory as well, may be clearly seen.

Perhaps the sectional division of the country can best be seen by grouping the states according to the relative strength of the parties at the various presidential elections since 1856, that is, by classifying each state as Republican or Democratic according to the consistency with which it has remained in one or the other of the parties, and then grouping all the states which show the same general tendencies (Chart I). Such an arrangement reveals three fairly distinct groups. In the first group are those states which, in the thirteen presidential elections, have cast consistently a majority vote for the Republican candidate; in the second, those which have cast a majority vote for the Democratic candidate and in the third, those states which have been neither consistently Democratic nor Republican.

In the first group fall the New England States, the North Atlantic and the Middle Western States. The New England States, with the exception of Connecticut which has cast a small Democratic majority at five elections,[7] and the five states, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut which were captured by the Democrats in 1912, thanks to the inroads of the Progressive Party, have been solidly Republican since 1856. The North Atlantic States (Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York), and the Middle Western States, with the exception of New York, New Jersey and Indiana, have been consistently Republican also. Three of the Middle Western States—Wisconsin, Illinois, and Ohio[8]—have twice descended into the Democratic ranks while Iowa cast enough Progressive votes in 1912 to give the state into the hands of the Democrats. In 1912, three states of this group—Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and Michigan—went Progressive, while five —Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana and Wisconsin, due to the large Progressive vote cast—went Democratic. New York, New Jersey and Indiana, although predominantly Republican, have nevertheless always had a strong Democratic opposition.

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[7] Connecticut, Democratic in 1876, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1912.

[8] Wisconsin and Illinois were Democratic in 1892 and 1912; Ohio was Democratic in 1912 and 1916.

In the thirteen elections since 1872 New York and Indiana have cast a major ty vote for the Democrats five times,[9] and New Jersey has cast a Democratic majority ten times.[10]

In the second group are to be found the southern states. These states, including Missouri have been consistently Democratic since 1876, with the exception of Missouri[11] which has been three times Republican, Kentucky twice Republican,[12] and Florida, South Carolina,[13] Louisiana and Tennessee Republican one time each during the period. From 1876 to 1896 all of the southern states without exception have been Democratic. In 1872, due to the reconstruction policies of the government, seven of the southern states, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, showed a Republican majority, while in 1876 there were Republican majorities in Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina only. In 1872 the Republicans captured 50.8 per cent of the vote cast in the southern group, whereas in 1868 they had only received 46 per cent. By 1876, although three states showed Republican majorities, only 40 per cent of the total vote cast by the group went to the Republicans. The total Republican vote in the South was almost double in 1872 what it had been in 1868, the actual Republican vote in 1868 being 529,439 and in 1872, 951,897. The popular vote for the Democratic Party for the same period was 615,446 in 1856, and 919,096 in 1872.

In the third group, are the Western States. These states, with the exception of Oregon and South Dakota, have exhibited a marked degree of independence from party ties in that they have been, for the most part, neither consistently Democratic

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[9] New York and Indiana were Democratic in 1876, 1884, 1892, 1912; New York, 1868; Indiana, 1856.

[10] New Jersey was Democratic in 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1912.

[11] Missouri was Republican in 1904, 1908, 1920.

[12] Kentucky was Republican in 1876 and 1896.

[13] Tennessee was Republican in 1920; South Carolina and Florida in 1876.

(It is noticeable that New York, Indiana and New Jersey cast Democratic majorities at the elections when there was a strong third party in the field. The effect of the agitation of the third party in these states was to throw into the Democratic Party large numbers of the agitators, who looked for relief from one of the old parties rather than from a third party, and who believed they saw traces of acquiescence to their demands in the Democratic Party.)

CHART I

THE POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF THE STATES OF THE UNITED STATES AT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS FROM 1856-1920

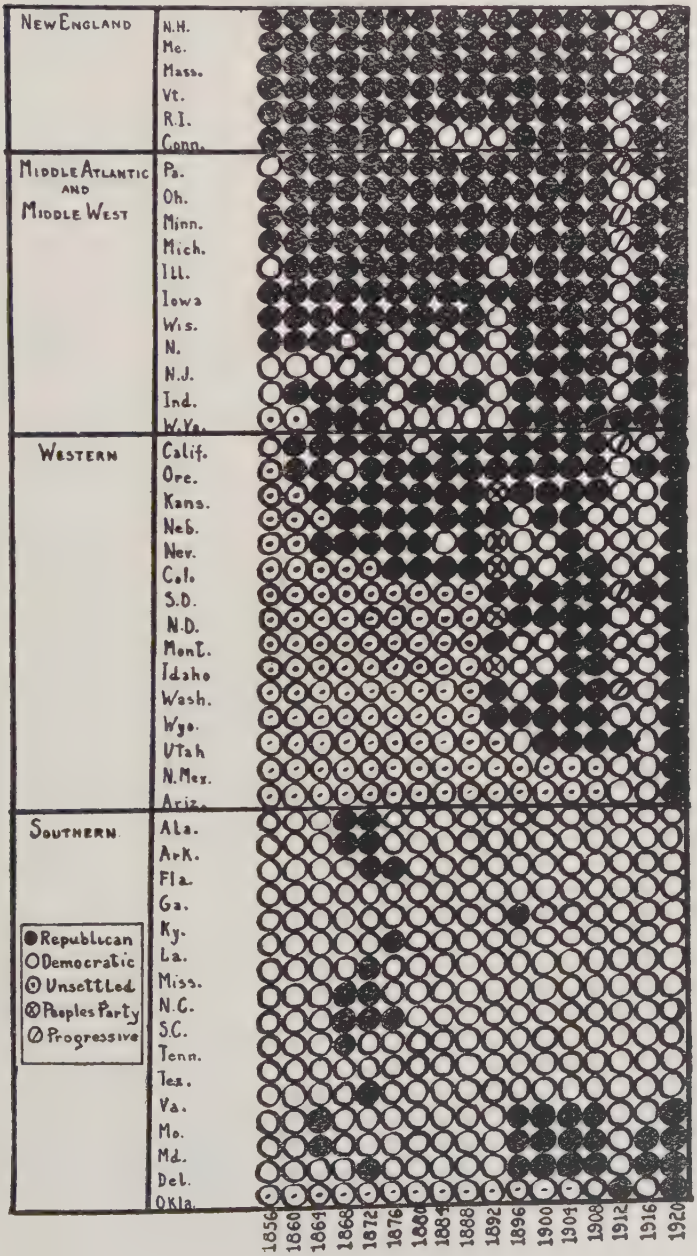


TABLE I

THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL VOTE CAST FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES BY PARTIES AND BY DIVISIONS 1856–1920 [1]

YEAR	NEW ENGLAND			SOUTH			MIDDLE WEST			NORTH ATLANTIC			WEST		
	REP.	DEM.	THIRD PARTY	REP.	DEM.	THIRD PARTY	DEM.	REP.	THIRD PARTY	REP.	DEM.	THIRD PAR T	REP.	DEM.	THIRD PARTY
1856	67	33	..	43	58	..	45	54	..	59	41	..	53	46	..
1860	70	30	..	42	58	..	49	61	..	55	45	..	38	59	..
1864	63	37	..	51	49	..	44	56	..	50	49	..	61	39	..
1868	64	36	..	46	54	..	43	56	..	50	50	..	55	44	..
1872	65	35	..	51	49	..	43	57	..	56	44	..	62	37	..
1876	57	44	..	40	59	..	47	53	2	49	51	..	58	42	3
1880	56	42	3	36	53	8	43	53	4	50	48	2	55	39	5
1884	52	41	7	38	52	10	47	51	3	50	47	4	55	40	5
1888	53	42	4	39	58	3	46	50	4	50	47	2	54	40	7
1892	52	45	3	30	55	15	45	46	9	48	48	7	45	17	38
1896	67	25	8	39	56	5	44	54	2	59	37	4	40	54	6
1900	59	37	5	40	58	3	42	55	3	56	40	3	51	46	3
1904	60	36	5	38	58	4	31	61	7	59	36	5	63	27	9
1908	60	34	6	40	57	3	40	54	6	56	38	6	53	40	7
1912	59	36	5	38	58	9	37	28	9	57	38	7	49	39	11
1916	32	..	32 [2]	22	..	19 [2]	..	54	38 [2]	25	..	34 [2]	34	..	48 [2]
1916	51 [2]	46	3	34 [2]	62	3	46	50 [2]	5	51 [2]	42	4	43 [2]	50	6
1920	66	30	4	45	54	1	29	66	4	66	28	6	64	29	6

[1] The vote cast by states was compiled from McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms;* MacPherson's, *Handbook of Politics;* Smull, *Legislative Handbook.* The states were arranged by divisions according to the groups arising from the classification of states according to their political affiliations at presidential elections, and the total vote for the section together with total vote for the various parties was computed.

[2] Includes progressive vote.

nor Republican, and in that both parties have been more evenly represented within the several states. Although these states have been remarkably free from the consistency of political affiliation which has distinguished the other groups, there has been nevertheless, a predominant tendency toward one party or the other in most of them. From the point of view of elections carried Nebraska, Utah, Nevada, California, North Dakota, Washington and Kansas have been a few more times Republican than Democratic, while Montana, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico have been slightly more disposed toward the Democratic Party.

Thus, it is evident that there has been and still is a very marked political division along sectional lines in the United States, and that since the Civil War the eastern part of the country has been divided politically along sectional lines which have followed, in the main, the early division between the free and the slave states. It is equally evident that the West to a marked degree and the Middle West to a lesser extent have shown no such marked tendency to be allied, as a section, to either of the parties. The case of the independence of the Middle West will be considered in more detail with reference to the relative strength of the two main parties within the states.

The intensity of political division along sectional lines becomes still more apparent when the relative strength in numbers of the two parties in the various sections thus distinguished is considered. The accompanying charts and table giving the percentage of the total vote cast for president of the United States by parties and by sections at the elections from 1856 to 1920 indicate that there has been a distinct party dominance in the older sections, particularly in the New England States and in the South. The extent of this party dominance is seen in the large percentage of the total vote which has been cast for the candidates of the predominant party throughout the entire period and in the relative insignificance of the vote cast for the candidates of the opposing party. It is apparent, also, that the more recently developed sections, the Middle West and the West, have shown a marked tendency to depart from any such persistent tendency to follow the leadership of one

party. Table I and Chart 2 show that throughout the entire period from 1856 to 1920 New England cast from 51 to 67 per cent of her total vote for the presidential candidate of the Republican Party and that at no time during the period did the opposing party receive more than 46 per cent of the total vote cast, while the percentage of the total vote registered for the cause of third-party movements was never greater than 8 per cent of the total vote cast. The usual vote for the Democratic candidate in New England has been between 35 and 40 per cent of the total vote cast, while the usual third-party vote has been around 3 and 4 per cent. The same tendency toward political solidarity is marked also in the Southern States. Since 1876 the Democratic Party in the South has always been a majority party. With the exception of the years 1880 and 1884 the percentage of the total vote cast for the Democratic candidate has ranged from 55 to 62 per cent with the usual vote around 57 per cent. The Republican vote in the South has been between 37 and 40 per cent of the total vote with the usual Republican vote around 39 per cent.

The states other than New England, which have been predominantly Republican, that is, the states which are generally called Middle Western and North Atlantic, have shown a more equal distribution of votes, in that the majority in the predominant party has been consistently lower than the majority in the predominant party of either of the other sections. Between the years 1876 and 1896, the years of the great agrarian upheavals in the West and the organization of third-party movements, the Republican Party in both of these sections was able to maintain only a bare majority, while in 1892, the year of the People's Party, the Republican candidate received only 48 per cent of the total vote cast in the North Atlantic States and only 47 per cent of the vote cast in the Middle West. During this period, too, the Democratic Party became an active opponent to the party in power in both the North Atlantic and the Middle Western States. The effect of the third-party movement in the North Atlantic States, where the tradition of party was strong, was to throw the reform element into the ranks of the Democrats rather than into the third-party organizations. From

1876 to 1892 the Democratic Party in the North Atlantic States received almost one-half of the total vote cast while the vote cast for third-party candidates, with the exception of the vote cast in 1892, was barely 3 per cent. In the Middle West, where the tradition of party was not so binding, and where the economic pressure of the period was felt generally by all classes of the population, the reform element was more strongly inclined to independent action, and although there was a material increase in the percentage of the total vote cast in the Democratic Party the effect upon that party was not as marked as it was in the North Atlantic division. That the action of third parties as displayed by the distribution of votes between the two main parties in these two sections was largely a protest against the policies of the party in power may be judged from the depleted ranks of the Republicans. Although there were to be found both Democrats and Republicans in the ranks of the third parties, it is evident, both from the increased vote for third-party movements and for the Democrats and the decreased vote for the Republican Party that the reform element was drawn largely from the Republican ranks.

The Western States have shown a more marked tendency than any of the other groups to break away from party allegiance and to fall into the ranks of first one party and then the other or to throw their strength into a third-party movement. Since 1888 neither Republicans nor Democrats have been able to maintain a majority in consecutive elections, in the section as a whole, and the majorities obtained by both parties are substantially smaller than the majorities registered in the other sections while the percentage of the total vote cast for third-party movements has been materially higher since 1888,[14] than in the other sections. In 1892 the third-party vote in the Western States was 38 per cent of the total vote cast, as against 3 per cent in New England, 15 per cent in the South,

[14] Prior to 1888, there were returns made for only Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, California and Oregon of the Western group. These states were all settled primarily by inhabitants from older Republican territory and these states all cast a majority vote for the Republican candidate for the first four presidential elections in which they participated. Of these states, Oregon has been consistently Republican from the beginning and California, Kansas and Nebraska have been more times Republican than Democratic.

9 per cent in the Middle West, and 7 per cent in the North Atlantic, while in 1912 it was 11 per cent in the Western States, exclusive of the vote cast in the Progressive Party, as against 5, 9, 8, and 7 per cent respectively in the other sections.

Thus, it appears that the United States divides itself into four major divisions each with distinguishing characteristics in respect to the party affiliations of its various states. In the New England and the Southern States where the first divisions of party began to appear, the tradition of one party has remained strong and political activity has become so institutionalized that the influence of the minority party in these sections has been practically nullified. The Republican area embraced by the Middle Western and North Atlantic States, unlike Republican New England, displays much less party solidarity, while the Western States are still more prone to follow issues than parties. Charts II, III, IV and V portray graphically the distinguishing characteristics of these divisions.

Quite as significant and characteristic as the relation of the two major parties in these divisions is the appearance and the relative strength of the third-party movements; their relation to the two major parties in the division and their strength as between divisions. Table I shows that, on the whole, third-party movements have succeeded in capturing relatively few votes, the usual vote being between 4 and 10 per cent of the total vote cast, although there were notable exceptions in 1892 and in 1912.[15] It is noticeable that for the most part the New England and the North Atlantic States have been the least responsive to third-party movements, while the Middle West, the West, and the South have been fertile grounds. Throughout the period of agrarian unrest, from 1876 to 1896, the South and the West according to the percentage of the total vote cast for third-party candidates, have been the most responsive sections to third-party agitations. It must be remembered,

[15] In 1912, the vote for Roosevelt in the Progressive Party was added to the third party vote, because the spirit of liberalism which prompted the division in the Republican Party was typical of, and was in reality, a part of the same spirit of liberalism which had been present in the Republican Party since 1872 and which had motivated the People's Party in 1892 and had given rise to the earlier third party movements.

CHART II

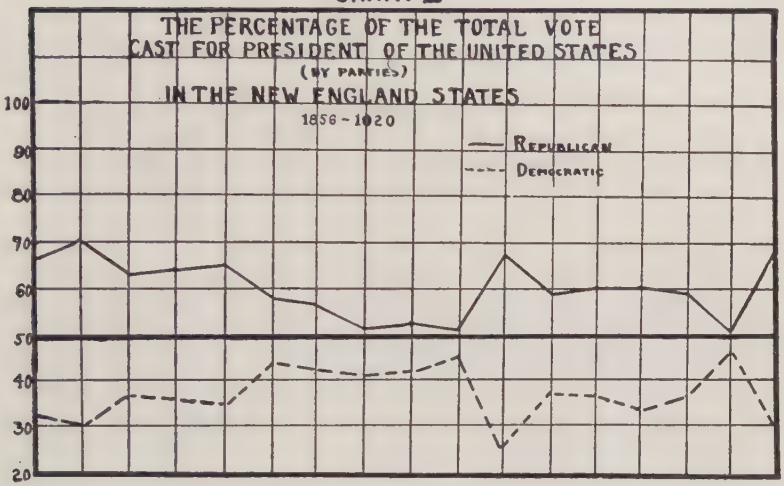


CHART III

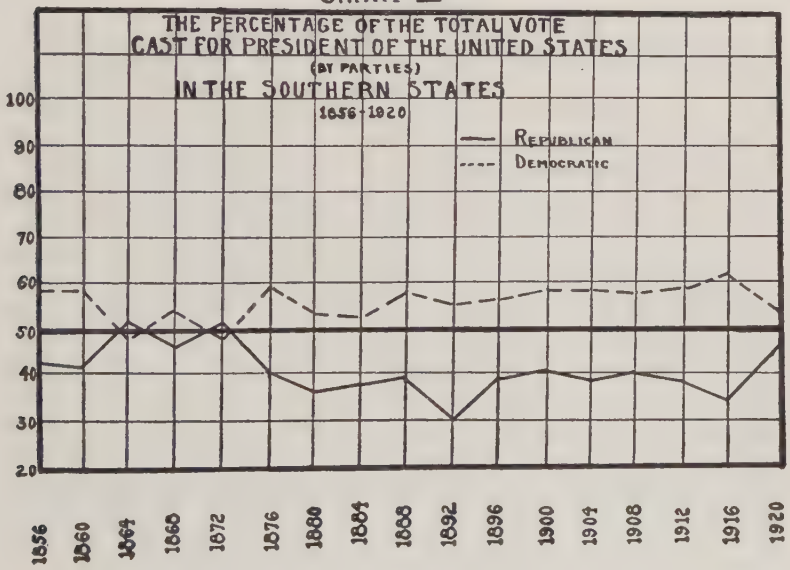


CHART IV

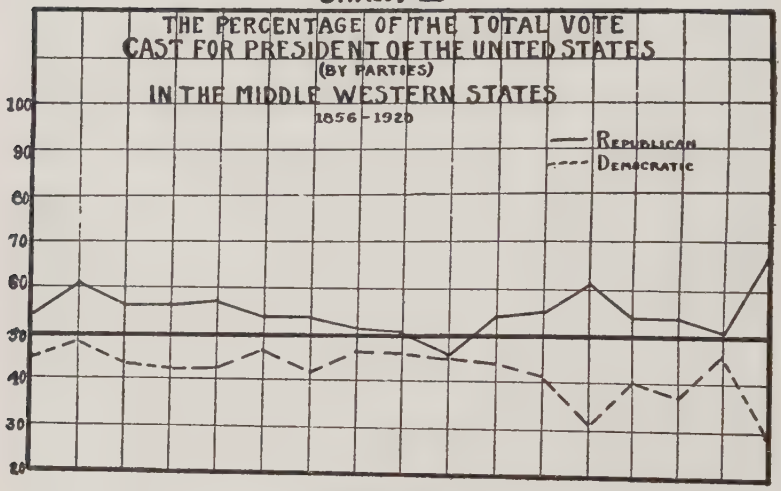
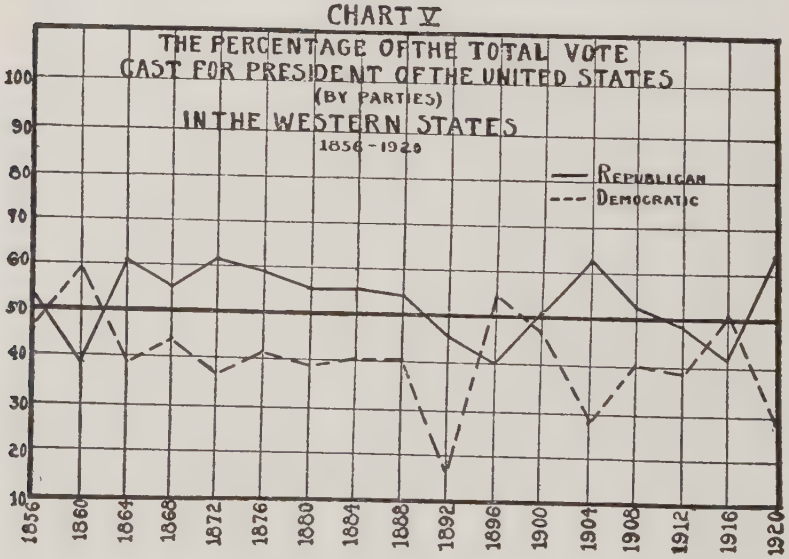


CHART V



however, that the greatest strength of the third-party movements was in the Middle West, where the strongest battles were fought to overthrow party control, and where all third parties from 1876 to 1896 had their largest number of actual supporters which number, however, in comparison with the total number of votes cast in the section appears relatively small when compared with the sections where the total number of votes cast was smaller than in the Middle West.

In the South, where party tradition was practically as strong as in New England and in the North Atlantic States, it appears from Table I and Chart III that the large third-party vote cast from 1876 to 1888 was drawn primarily from the Republican ranks, although there was a slight decrease during the period in the vote cast in the Democratic Party. The vote taken from the Democratic Party in the South, however, was never sufficient to take from the party its substantial majority in that section. The success of third-party movements in the South may be attributed to several causes. In the first place, the economic pressure from long continued price declines became burdensome to both Democrats and Republicans alike and the growing discontent with the Republican Party found much expression in the South as was to be seen by the attitude of the South toward the Liberal Republican movement in 1872. In the second place, aside from the standing enmity between southern Republicans and southern Democrats, which was still strong enough to keep the two groups from co-operating, there was little hope for a national Democratic success at this time, even should the Democrats assume the cause of economic and social reform. Hence, feeling that the Republican Party would not take steps to meet economic conditions and that the hope of reform through the Democrats was slight, the dissatisfied elements were forced into the ranks of third parties which they hoped would be able to form a successful alliance with one of the major parties in time or else be able to supplant them altogether. That this situation prevailed and that the tradition of party has always been exceedingly binding in the South, was clearly demonstrated in the South in the election of 1892 when the People's Party, the foundations of which had grown

up in the South and had been expressed in widespread organization among the farmers in the form of farmers' alliances, made very little inroads upon the ranks of the Democratic Party and drew so largely for its support in the South upon the Republican Party. In 1892, the vote cast in the South for third parties was 15 per cent of the total vote cast which was a gain of 13 per cent over the third-party vote cast in 1888. Of this increase in third-party vote 9 per cent came from the Republican Party while only 2 per cent came from the Democratic. The Democratic Party received in 1892, 55 per cent of the total vote cast, a majority which had been exceeded only once since 1876, while the Republican Party received only 30 per cent of the total vote cast. The extent of the party barriers existing between the Democrats and Republicans of the South is clearly seen by the action of the Republicans of that section in the election of 1896. As has been indicated above, the large third-party vote cast for the People's Party in 1892 came primarily from the ranks of the Republicans. When the issue upon which the campaign of 1892, the coinage of silver, was adopted by the National Democratic Party in 1896, from the activity of the southern Republicans in 1892 one would have expected them to follow the issue into the Democratic Party, but such was not the case. The results of the election shown in Table I and Chart III indicate conclusively that the southern Republicans did not stick to the issue of 1892 and that they dropped back into the ranks of the Republican Party. In 1896, the Democratic vote was practically the same as it was in 1892, while the Republican vote showed an increase of 9 per cent. That is, the 9 per cent who had left Republican ranks for free silver and the People's Party in 1892 returned to the gold standard and the Republicans in 1896.

In New England where the Democratic Party was weak and occupied the same position in relation to the Republican Party as the Republicans of the South did to the Democratic Party in the South, the effects of third-party agitation was not to deplete the ranks of the minority party but rather those of the majority party. Throughout the period from 1876 to 1892 the percentage of the total vote cast for the Republican candidate

in New England was materially decreased and in 1884, the Republican vote was only 52 per cent of the total vote cast. The minority party, on the other hand, received large numbers of dissatisfied Republicans into its ranks as is evidenced by the increased Democratic vote throughout the period despite the fact that there were third parties into which the dissatisfied elements might have drifted. The agitation in New England was more generally for reform within the party in power, without any particular reference to economic policies. The People's Party in 1892 received only 3 per cent of the total vote cast, which was practically the smallest vote ever polled by a third party in the section, while the Democratic Party witnessed a substantial increase. The economic disturbance which had so upset the Middle West, West and the South had not materially affected New England and neither the farmers nor the laborers felt forced to leave the ranks of the established parties to get redress of grievances. Those who felt forced to break with the Republicans seem to have preferred to be identified with the Democratic Party rather than with the agitators.

In 1880, the year of the greatest strength of the Greenback Party, the South, the West and the Middle West showed the greatest tendency to break with past parties. In 1892, the same was true only at that time the Western States showed a far greater tendency toward independence than did any of the other groups. The same tendency toward liberalism and independence from party affiliations as between the sections of the country is further seen in the vote cast for the Progressive Party in the presidential election of 1912. At that time the Progressive Party in the Western States received 37 per cent of the total vote cast. In the Middle West the Progressive vote was 29 per cent of the total vote; in the North Atlantic States 30 per cent; in the New England States 26 per cent, and in the South 11 per cent.

It is evident from the foregoing that there has been since 1876 a tendency toward the breaking away from the party affiliations which were established at the time of the Civil War, and that beginning with the East, in the North Atlantic States, and proceeding westward, first into the Middle West and then

into the far West the tendency has become more pronounced. In the New England and the Southern States, the two predominant parties which were identified with the sections before the Civil War have continued to dominate political activity although the extent of their predominance was slightly decreased during the period of the agrarian and labor agitations between 1876 and 1892. The reasons for the continuance of the pre-war party alignment in these sections is not far to seek. In the first place, the divergence of economic interests between these two sections still maintains to a large extent. The alliance which was apparently taking place between the Middle West, the West and the South came about because of the similarity of economic difficulty in these sections, and as development of the country proceeded the interests of the West and the Middle West became increasingly identified with those of the South rather than with those of the East, although they were by no means coincident with those of the South. In the second place, the early party alignments had resulted in such an inequality between the majority and the minority parties in the two sections that there was little chance for a third party to become effective locally, and without local enthusiasm it was well nigh impossible to generate enthusiasm for a national movement. In the third place, the presence of a predominant party tended to create a tradition of party which developed an atmosphere that tended to become an environmental influence, to further crystallize and institutionalize the political activity of the people, and to make the party (the organization) rather than the issue back of it the end. That the West and the Middle West should have no such hard-and-fast political affiliations can be equally well explained. These sections, having been settled by migrants from both the old sections, tended to have active elements from both parties introduced into their area. The economic interests of the Western divisions were not the same as those of the sections from which the inhabitants had come, and the failure of the party platforms, policies and legislations of the traditional parties to meet their existing economic needs tended to weaken their inherited party traditions when they were removed to an environment in which neither party

held unchallenged sway. Again, the settlement of the territory by inhabitants from both sections and the clash of party traditions with economic development made for greater equality between the two main parties. Hence, the success of a third-party movement became more probable since the possibility of maintaining the balance of power locally between the parties and of forcing measures upon one or the other of the two main parties became greater.

This brief review of the political alignment of the various sections of the United States over a period of sixty-four years shows three things fairly conclusively. First, that the political activity of the people of the United States has become identified with the political party, and that the Republican and Democratic Parties, having entrenched themselves in opposing sections of the country in the early days of their history, have continued to exert a controlling influence over their respective sections. Second, that the economic interests of the two early sections of the United States were sufficiently represented by these two parties for a period long enough to build up a party tradition and to institutionalize political activity to the extent that the Democratic and Republican Parties were able to extend their influence into the frontier sections of the country and to maintain their supremacy as political parties even though they were not adequately fostering the interests of the newer sections, the interests of which were becoming increasingly divergent from those of either the North or the South. Third, although party traditions seem to have been carried by settlers into the frontier regions, that they were apparently never so binding as in the older sections and were materially weakened by the force of economic pressure which arose from the rapid development of these sections.

III

Party Lines and Sectional Development

That the Middle West and the West have exhibited distinct political characteristics from a very early period has already been seen. The extent to which these characteristics are the outgrowth of the conflict between institutionalized social and economic ideas and a changing economic and social environment, attendant upon the settlement and development of the West is yet to be seen.

The two most significant events in connection with the development of the West were the coming of the railroads and the passing of the frontier. The economic and social consequences following in the train of these two events divide the history of the United States into two very distinct periods. The first may be characterized as one of the rapid expansion of a nation across a continent. This period witnessed the advance and extinction of the frontier. The second period, which may be said to begin with the completion of the last Pacific railroad in 1884, may be characterized as a period of rapid intensive expansion which has witnessed the further development of a nation within a fixed territory. The first period comprised the years from 1840 to 1885; the second, the years from 1885 to the present date. The social and political consequences emanating from the extension of the frontier have been no less important in the development of American social and economic institutions than have been the influences which have had their origin in the intensive expansion of American industry and commerce which have lead to the so-called social legislation of this later period.[1]

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[1] "Moving westward the frontier became more and more American and to study this advance, the political, economic and social results of it, is to study the real American part of our history. . . . The growth of nationalism and the evolution of American political institutions were dependent upon the advance of the frontier." Turner, *Significance of Frontier in American History*, Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1893, p. 197.

The period of extensive expansion began before the Civil War. It was temporarily checked but was rapidly revived after the war, particularly after 1865. During both the period preceding and following the war the construction of the system of railways upon which the future development of the country was to depend eclipsed every other endeavor. To follow the advance of the railroads across the country and to take notice of the peoples who followed them is to explain in large measure the course of political events during the last years, from 1865 to 1884, of this first great period of American history—the period of extensive expansion.

There have been, in reality, two frontiers in the United States. In the early forties and fifties the country which lay between the old East and the Missouri and Mississippi settlements, embracing the territory occupied by the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, Minnesota, Kentucky and Tennessee, was settled under frontier conditions.[2] The early settlers of this section came mainly from New England and upper New York. The opening of the Erie Canal made migration into the lake region more possible and large numbers of New England farmers left the small rocky farms of New Hampshire and Vermont and settled in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois. The completion of the trunk line railways in the 50's brought this frontier into more intimate contact with the East and not only worked a revolution in the economic and social conditions of the people who had preceded the railroads into this section, but was also the means of bringing other settlers from the Eastern sections in such numbers that this section became predominantly Eastern in economic interest and in political affiliation. A tremendous advance was made in the settlement of this territory during the decade from 1850 to 1860. This was a period of great railroad development which was fostered by federal land grants to states in aid of railway projects,[3] and the main line of the railway system which was subsequently developed in the Middle West was laid.[4] In

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[2] Paxson, *The Pacific Railways and the Disappearance of the Frontier in America*, Annual Report, American Historical Association, 1907, Vol. I, p. 107.

TABLE II

TOTAL RAILWAY MILEAGE IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE MILES OF RAILWAY TO POPULATION AND TO SQUARE MILES OF TERRITORY BY DIVISIONS 1840–1890[1]

YEAR	UNITED STATES			NEW ENGLAND			MIDDLE ATLANTIC[2]		
	TOTAL MILEAGE	POPULATION TO ONE MILE	SQUARE MILE TO ONE MILE	TOTAL MILEAGE	POPULATION TO ONE MILE	SQUARE MILE TO ONE MILE	TOTAL MILEAGE	POPULATION TO ONE MILE	SQUARE MILE TO ONE MILE
1840	2,818	6,057	..	527	4,240	132	1,566	3,240	114
1850	9,021	2,570	..	2,508	1,087	25	3,202	2,052	55
1860	30,635	1,026	..	3,660	856	17	6,706	1,231	27
1870	52,914	728	..	4,494	776	14	10,791	941	16
1880	93,349	537	..	5,977	670	10	15,870	768	10
1890	166,690	375	..	6,730	698	9	21,533	680	8

YEAR	MIDDLE WEST[3]			SOUTH			MOUNTAIN AND PACIFIC STATES	
	TOTAL MILEAGE	POPULATION TO ONE MILE	SQUARE MILE TO ONE MILE	TOTAL MILEAGE	POPULATION TO ONE MILE	SQUARE MILE TO ONE MILE	TOTAL MILEAGE	POPULATION TO ONE MILE
1840	89	37,657	6,739	636	9,998	1,179	.....	.....
1850	1,276	4,234	470	2,035	4,082	368	.....	.....
1860	11,064	822	54	9,182	1,117	81	23	26,912
1870	22,797	569	26	12,465	902	60	1,782	555
1880	44,243	392	13	19,200	794	39	7,463	236
1890	76,072	293	8	41,377	417	18	20,854	145

[1] Railway mileage compiled from Poor, *Manual of the Railroads*, 1840–1890. Total population and square miles of territory compiled from census data and the population per square mile of railroad and the miles of railroad per square mile of territory were computed.

[2] Includes New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia.

[3] Includes Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri.

1840 the Middle Western States possessed only 89 miles of railroad which was one mile of railroad to every 37,657 inhabitants in the section. In 1850 the mileage had increased to 1,276 miles, which was one-tenth of the total mileage in the United States and one mile of railroad to every 4,234 inhabitants (see Table II).

By 1860 more than one-third of the total mileage in the United States was in the Middle Western States while there was one mile of railroad to every 822 inhabitants, which was greater mileage in proportion to population than in any other section of the country.

The extent to which migration into the section was taking place is to be seen in the rapid increase in the population of all the states of the section during the decade from 1850 to 1860. During the period all the states of the section, with the exception of Ohio which had its greatest migrations in the two preceding decades, witnessed a greater increase in numbers than in any previous decade and the increase was larger in Indiana, Wisconsin and Illinois than in any subsequent decade. Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota doubled their population while that of Iowa was three times as great in 1860 as it was in 1850.

That this extraordinary increase in population was due largely to migrations from other sections of the country is to be seen in the fact that in 1860, more than 50 per cent of the native-born population in five of the seven states composing the Middle Western section, were born outside of the state in which they were living at the time of the census enumeration. The percentage of the native-born population born outside of the state for the various states of the section was as follows: Ohio, 35; Indiana, 27; Illinois, 59; Michigan, 51; Wisconsin, 50; Minnesota, 70; Iowa, 72. The largest migrations into Ohio and Indiana were at an earlier period. During 1830, 1840 and 1850 these two states received large numbers of migrants from the New England States and from Tennessee and Kentucky.

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[3] Sanborn, *Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways.*

[4] Hadley, *Railroad Transportation.* Poor, *Manual of the Railroads.*

TABLE III

THE POPULATION OF THE MIDDLE WESTERN STATES ACCORDING TO THE PLACE OF BIRTH, 1860–1880[1]

States	Native Born	Born Outside of State	Born in the South	Born in New Eng.	Born in New Eng., Penna., N. Y. and N. J.	Born in Rep. Area[2]
1860						
Ohio	85	35	21	11	67	88
Indiana	91	27	33	3	24	73
Illinois	81	59	25	10	42	75
Michigan	80	51	15	13	84	99
Wisconsin	64	50	2	22	80	98
Minnesota	65	70	3	24	62	97
Iowa	84	72	13	7	34	90
1870						
Ohia	86	20	20	6	58	82
Indiana	91	32	32	2	21	72
Illinois	80	41	25	9	38	77
Michigan	77	45	20	10	76	98
Wisconsin	65	35	32	20	74	97
Minnesota	63	55	43	19	47	89
Iowa	83	57	11	7	35	91
1880						
Ohio	88	16	23	7	56	71
Indiana	93	26	30	4	21	69
Illinois	81	32	25	6	34	70
Michigan	76	36	22	11	72	99
Wisconsin	69	24	31	17	67	96
Minnesota	66	41	40	16	47	95

[1] The population of each state according to the state of birth was compiled from the *Census of Population* for the years 1860, 1870 and 1880. The total number of the population born in the southern states but residing in any one state at the time of the enumeration was ascertained and the proportion which they bore to the total native-born population was calculated. In like manner the actual number and the proportion of the population born in New England and the other sections was ascertained.

[2] This represents the percentage of the total population of each state which were born in states which have been predominantly Republican in past political affiliations. The states which would be, therefore, included are the New England States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the seven Middle Western States.

From the point of view of the political character of these states and their subsequent party affiliations, the significant thing is not that large numbers of the population were born and had lived for a number of years under different environmental conditions from those which they encountered in their new homes, but that for the most part, the majority of them had lived in a particular environment which, even at this early date, had developed quite definite ideas and customs of political life. With the exception of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, all of which had a considerable influx of population from Kentucky and Tennessee, the states of this section had less than 15 per cent of their population which was born outside of the state, born in the Southern States. Wisconsin and Minnesota had only 2 and 3 per cent respectively of their population in 1860 born in the South. On the other hand, the population came largely from New England, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. From these states Ohio drew, in 1860, 68 per cent of her population born outside of the state, Indiana 24 per cent, Illinois 42 per cent, Michigan 84 per cent, Wisconsin 80 per cent, Minnesota 62 per cent and Iowa 34 per cent. Nor do these percentages begin to indicate the extent of the influence of New England and the Middle Atlantic States upon the attitude and institutions of the population of the Middle Western section. It must be remembered that the parents of most of those who were born in the states had come from the New England and Middle Atlantic States at an earlier date and that the institutions and atmosphere which they had installed in their new surroundings was essentially like that into which they had been born, and that the economic development of the West had not yet proceeded far enough to engender that widespread discontent with things as they are which a little later became so characteristic of this entire section. Since, then, at this date there was no well-developed economic discord between this section and the old East and since the inhabitants were largely drawn from the East it is but natural that the area should be more in harmony politically with the Eastern section of the country than with the Southern. The homogeneous character of the two sections as to social, economic and political conceptions in this early

day is partially evidenced by their union in the Republican Party in 1856.

Although from 1865 this section became predominantly Republican in political sentiment and more closely allied with the East than with the West in economic interests, it became, nevertheless, the area in which party domination was first attacked and in which there developed an increasing discontent with existing economic and political conditions. Although predominantly Republican, Republican majorities were never so large here as in the other sections. The two parties were more evenly balanced and the total vote cast for the cause of third-party movements was usually much larger than in the South or in the East. From the period of the Civil War this first frontier departed from its early role as a territory to be organized and became itself a factor in its further development. As a result of its increasing strength in numbers and of its increasing economic importance, it developed a sectional consciousness of its own. It became the area in which widespread discontent with the two existing parties was expressed and in time it became the seat of the first discordant and radical elements in political life which have since been called third-party movements.

The second frontier extended from the Western boundary of Missouri, Arkansas and Iowa to the Pacific Coast. The years from 1865 to 1884 cover the period of the life of this frontier. As in the case of the frontier of the 40's and 50's it was the extension of the railroad system which gradually pushed the frontier further and further west and hastened the settlement and development of the intervening country. The first period had witnessed federal grants to states to be used for railroad building, and the second witnessed federal grants to corporations for the Pacific railroads. The beginning of the end of the second frontier came with the completion of the Union Pacific Railway in 1869,[5] and closed with the completion of the other Pacific railways in 1882 and 1884.

The period of direct federal aid to railroads was a brief one lasting only nine years, from 1862 to 1871. During the period,

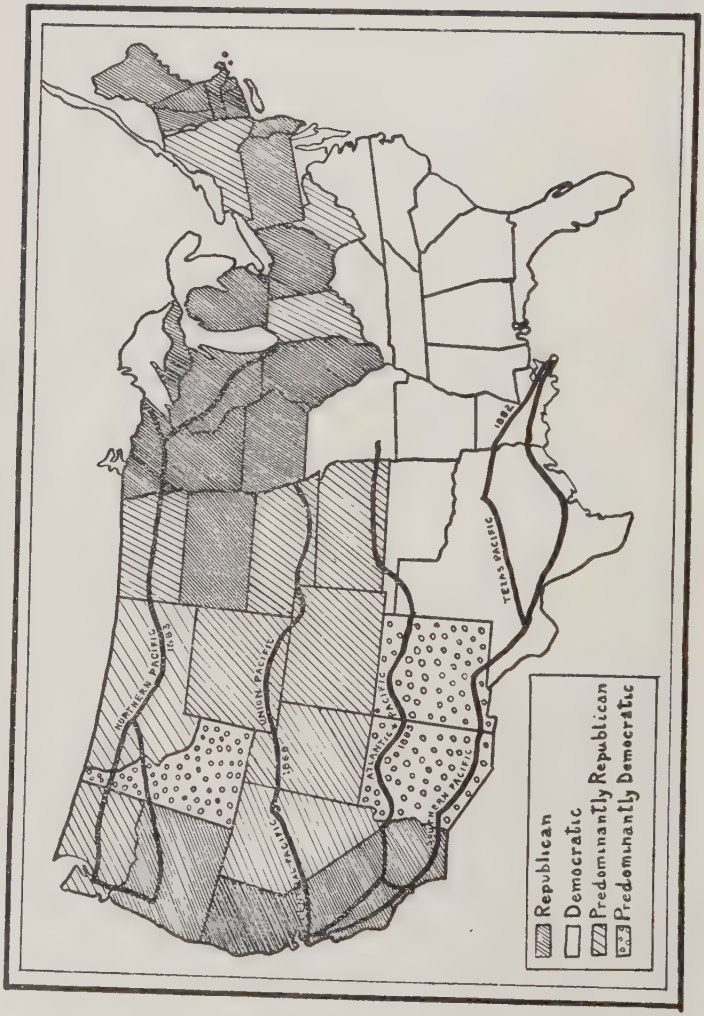
[5] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1869, p. 598.

however, five trans-continental lines were chartered—the Union Pacific in 1862; the Northern Pacific in 1864; the Atlantic and Pacific in 1866; the Southern Pacific in 1865 and the Texas Pacific in 1871. The significance of the projection of these trans-continental lines across vast areas of virtually unpopulated territory, both as to its effect upon the economic and political activity of the older sections and upon the political affiliations of the various sections of the newer territory thus opened, is of such consequence to the subsequent political development of this section and to an understanding of the social and institutional aspects of the political party that it is important at this point to notice the routes of the trans-continental railways and the sections of the country which they connected.

The Union Pacific extended from Omaha, Neb., to Ogden, Utah, where it formed a junction with the Central Pacific (see Map, page 38). The road was opened to traffic May 15, 1869. Through Omaha, the Eastern terminus of this road, the section opened for settlement was brought in direct communication with the Republican centers around the lake region and with the Middle West in general. It is significant to notice that as colonization proceeded the political complexion of the states traversed by the new road became strikingly like that of the section from which it had drawn its population largely. Of the five states, Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California, through which the road passed, the three which were immediately settled, that is, California, Nevada and Nebraska, showed a substantial Republican majority in presidential elections from 1860 to 1880 and the Republicans maintained the lead in Nebraska until 1896. Wyoming and Utah appeared for the first time in the election of 1892 and 1896, respectively. Despite the fact that the Democrats merged with the People's Party in 1892 to defeat the Republicans in Wyoming, the Republicans of that state maintained a slight majority and lost to the Democratic and People's Party combination in 1896 by only 287 votes. In 1896, the Republicans of Utah lost to the Democratic and People's Party combination by a large majority. From 1896 to 1916, however, the Republicans show a substantial majority in this state. Thus it appears that although the two

parties have been more equally represented in these states than in some of the older sections of the country that the Republicans, on the whole, outnumbered the Democrats.

THE POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF THE VARIOUS STATES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE LOCATION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROADS



The census of 1870 showed that California, Nevada and Nebraska had 52, 86 and 80 per cent, respectively, of their

native-born population born outside of the state. Of those born outside the state but residing in California at the time of the census enumeration, 71 per cent came from New England or other states which were predominantly Republican. In Nevada, 64 per cent came from Republican territory while in Nebraska, 81 per cent were born in Republican states (see Table IV). Of California's total population in 1870, 23 per cent were born in territory where traditions of the Republican Party were strong, while in Nevada 31 per cent, and in Nebraska 52 per cent of the total population were born in Republican territory. The strong hold which previous party affiliations had upon the early settlers of these states is largely responsible for the overwhelming Republican majorities which these states showed for the first twenty years of their statehood. It was not until after 1880 that the supremacy of the Republican Party was materially challenged in these states (see Chart I), and then not until economic necessities had forced themselves into political issues which questioned the policies of the two main parties.

Of Wyoming's population, 95 per cent in 1870, 83 per cent in 1880, and 81 per cent in 1890 were born outside of the state. Of those born outside of the state, 71 per cent in 1870, 65 per cent in 1880, and 62 per cent in 1890 were born in states which had been predominantly Republican in political affiliation since 1856. Wyoming drew only 17, 19 and 16 per cent of its population born outside of the state during the three census years from 1870 to 1890 from the Southern States. Of Wyoming's total population 42, 39 and 38 per cent were born in Republican territory as registered at the census of 1870, 1880 and 1890, respectively, while less than 12 per cent came from Democratic territory. Wyoming also remained consistently within the Republican fold for the first five elections after her admission to statehood.

Utah, the last of the group of states traversed by the Central Pacific Railroad to be settled, had from a very early date a large percentage of foreign-born population. In 1860, 32 per cent; in 1870, 35 per cent; in 1880, 31 per cent, and in 1890, 25 per cent of the total population were foreign born. Of the native born less than 26 per cent were born outside of the state after

TABLE IV

POPULATION OF THE WESTERN STATES ACCORDING TO PLACE OF BIRTH, 1860–1890[1]

1860

STATE	NATIVE BORN	BORN OUTSIDE OF STATE[2]	BORN IN THE SOUTH[3]	BORN IN NEW ENG.	BORN IN NEW ENG., N. Y., PENNA., AND N. J.	BORN IN REP. AREA[4]
Montana	..	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	..	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona	..	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado	91	99	38	12	55	66
New Mexico	93	3	42	9	46	55
Utah	68	42	18	13	65	78
Nevada	69	96	19	15	61	76
Washington	73	76	19	19	54	73
Oregon	78	74	39	5	48	54
California	61	67	28	5	31	36
North Dakota	63	49	8	5	16	92
Nebraska	77	88	19	6	31	81
Kansas	88	89	30	6	21	70

1870

Montana	61	87	24	10	..	67
Idaho	47	87	21	12	54	66
Wyoming	61	95	17	9	62	71
Arizona	40	68	22	13	50	63
Colorado	83	81	15	7	44	50
New Mexico	94	4	30	8	43	51
Utah	65	26	19	10	65	75
Nevada	56	86	17	16	49	64
Washington	79	63	18	14	60	74
Oregon	87	53	33	6	53	58
California	62	52	24	21	50	71
North Dakota	66	78	9	9	37	91
Nebraska	75	80	14	6	29	86
Kansas	87	80	28	4	20	74

[1] See footnote Table III for method.

[2] Percentage of the native-born population born outside of the state.

[3] Percentage of the total native-born population born in the states of the South.

[4] This includes New England, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the seven Middle Western States which have been predominantly Republican in political affiliation.

TABLE IV—*Continued*

1880

State	Native Born	Born Outside of State	Born in the South	Born in New Eng.	Born in New Eng., N. Y., Penna., and N. J.	Born in Rep. Area
Montana	71	74	23	8	58	66
Idaho	73	78	16	5	37	41
Wyoming	72	83	19	8	57	65
Arizona	60	67	22	10	35	45
Colorado	80	83	30	8	58	66
New Mexico	93	9	24	7	38	45
Utah	69	18	19	10	58	68
Nevada	59	63	14	14	47	61
Washington	79	67	16	9	63	72
Oregon	83	53	27	6	52	58
California	66	43	22	19	53	73
North Dakota	61	79	5	8	29	92
Nebraska	78	73	9	5	27	89
Kansas	89	74	23	3	19	76

1890

Montana	67	76	17	7	63	70
Idaho	89	70	18	4	44	48
Wyoming	76	81	16	6	56	63
Arizona	69	62	29	5	31	36
Colorado	80	76	18	6	60	65
New Mexico	93	18	43	4	36	40
Utah	75	23	16	7	52	57
Nevada	68	53	12	11	41	52
Washington	74	79	14	6	63	69
Oregon	82	56	21	4	53	57
California	70	43	20	14	55	70
North Dakota	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas	..	..	..	..	..	..

1870. Of this small percentage born outside of the state the majority came from Republican areas, but they were not sufficient in numbers when compared to the total population to exert such an overwhelming influence upon the political activity of the state as has been noticed elsewhere.

The Northern Pacific Railroad was authorized to join Lake Superior and Puget Sound. Starting from Duluth, Minn., at the head of Lake Superior and from St. Paul on the Mississippi River the two eastern arms were to unite in central Minnesota. From the point of junction in Minnesota the line extended westward through central Dakota and central Montana. At Missoula Mills in Montana the roads branched, one arm passing through central Washington to the main ocean terminus, Puget Sound, the other following down the valley through southern Washington and northern Oregon to Portland. A shore line was to unite the two termini. At St. Paul, the Northern Pacific System connected with the navigation of the Mississippi River and the various lines of the railroad extending through Chicago to the Atlantic Coast; at Duluth with the commerce of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence[6] (see Map page 38). This road was begun July, 1870, and was opened to traffic August, 1883.[7] The opening of this road brought five more states, Washington, Oregon, North Dakota, Montana and Idaho into intimate connections with the Middle West and the East. Although three of these states, North Dakota, Washington and Oregon, had a small population as early as 1860 they did not begin upon their real period of development until after 1880. Montana and Idaho which appeared in the census enumeration for the first time in 1870 likewise experienced a tremendous increase in population between 1880 and 1890.[8]

Oregon, the first state of this group to be settled, drew its population as early as 1860 largely from the Republican states although it had received a considerable migration from the South. In 1860, 39 per cent of the population born outside of the state were born in the Democratic territory of the South. Oregon continued to receive a considerable migration from the South through 1890 but at no time did the migration amount to 15 per cent of the total population, whereas migration from Republican territories increased rapidly after 1880 until in

[6] Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1871.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 719. Construction was dropped after the panic of 1873 and was not resumed until the spring of 1879.

[8] *United States Census*, 1860–1900.

1890, 62 per cent of the total population were born in the Republican states. Only twice, in 1868 and in 1912, has Oregon cast a majority vote for the Democratic presidential candidate, although there has always been a strong Democratic opposition within the state. The comparatively equal strength of the two parties has encouraged the spread of third-party programs as is to be seen from the large vote cast in the People's Party in 1892, when that party cast 26,965 votes out of a total vote of 78,491.[9] North Dakota, Idaho, Montana and Washington made returns in the presidential election of 1892 for the first time. Although at that time Idaho and North Dakota were carried by the People's Party, due primarily to the fact that the Democrats did not run a candidate in these states[10] but accepted the nominees of the People's Party in order to defeat the Republicans, and Montana and Washington cast a considerable vote for the People's Party candidate, and although the combined Democratic and People's Party ticket in 1896 succeeded in defeating the Republicans in Montana, Idaho and Washington, it is nevertheless apparent from the results of the elections after 1896 that the Republicans were in the majority in Washington, Oregon and North Dakota and had a substantial following in both Montana and Idaho.

Like the states traversed by the Union Pacific, this group of states, opened for more extensive settlement by the extension of the Northern Pacific Railway, drew upon the Middle West and the East for a large percentage of their population. In 1890, 69 per cent of the 79 per cent of the population of Washington which were born outside of the state were born in Republican states, while only 14 per cent came from Democratic territory. On the basis of total population, 41 per cent were born where the Republican Party was primarily accepted and only 8 per cent were from Democratic area. Of this group of states Idaho and Montana were the last to be settled but like the other three states of the group they witnessed their greatest

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[9] McKee, *Party Conventions and Platforms.* Smull, *Legislative Handbook.*

[10] In Colorado, Kansas, North Dakota, Idaho and Wyoming the Democratic Party ran no ticket in 1892 but accepted the nominees of the People's Party in an effort to defeat the Republican Party.

expansion between 1880 and 1890 after the completion of the Northern Pacific Railway. During the decade the population of Montana trebled and in 1890, 76 per cent of the native-born population were born outside of the state with the major portion of this out-of-state population coming from Republican territory (see Table IV). Idaho, in like manner, showed 70 per cent of its native-born population in 1890 to have come from out of the state. Of this number only 48 per cent came from Republican territory while 52 per cent came either from the South or from surrounding Western States. Both Montana and Idaho had a considerable foreign-born population. It is significant that both of these states, each having a large foreign-born population and a considerable representation from the South, show a marked tendency toward the breaking away from old party affiliations and toward the fostering of liberal and radical movements (see Chart I).

The Atlantic and Pacific, the third of the trans-continental railroads to be constructed, extended from Springfield, Mo., by way of Albuquerque, N. M., to the Pacific. The Eastern division extended from Springfield to Albuquerque, the Western from Albuquerque to the Colorado River where it connected with the Southern Pacific of California at Fort Mohave[11] (see Map page 38). Construction began on this division in 1880 and was completed in 1883.[12] The entire road was completed and in operation December 31, 1885. The Southern Pacific of California extended from San Francisco, Cal., by way of Los Angeles, to Fort Yuma with a branch to Fort Mohave on the Colorado. At Fort Mohave it connected with the Atlantic and Pacific coming from St. Louis, Mo., via Springfield. At Fort Yuma it connected with the Texas and Pacific.[13]

The Texas and Pacific, the last of the land grant railways, extended from the eastern border of Texas to San Diego, Cal. In January, 1882, the road formed a junction with the Southern Pacific of California at Sierra Blanca, Tex., and on January 15th of the same year the track was open for traffic to El Paso.

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[11] Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1885, p. 845.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 828.
[13] *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 626.

The New Orleans division from Shreveport was opened for traffic October 15, 1882.[14] It is significant to notice that the Eastern termini of these roads are all within Democratic territory and that two of the four states, Arizona and New Mexico, traversed by these roads became predominantly Democratic in their political affiliations while Colorado developed strong Democratic tendencies and fostered the People's Party in 1892. In 1880, 30 per cent of the population of Colorado born out of the state were born in Democratic territory and in 1890, 60 per cent of her total population was born either in the South or in the surrounding Western States (see Table IV).

With the completion of the last Pacific railroad in 1884, the continental frontier was completely destroyed. The process of crossing a continent had been accomplished and the traces of political development consequent thereto were definitely marked. The progress had been an orderly and continuous one. The economic expansion in the seaboard states forced population into the interior, the railroads followed and production and population increased more rapidly until it became economically advantageous to project the Western railroads.

On the social and political side the fact that railroads were projected through large areas of sparcely settled territory is of importance, since colonization did not always precede but largely followed the advance of the railroads. The result of this was that new settlers from the older sections tended to locate in groups with the further result that whatever sectional or political division may have existed in the older sections of the country tended to be reproduced in the areas where large groups of people from these sections assembled. In the early days of the expansion along the Atlantic seaboard two political factions had arisen and the interests of these two factions became increasingly allied with the development of new territory and after the consolidation, in 1856, of the forces of one group into the Republican Party and of the other into the Democratic Party the institutionalized activity of the two groups tended to penetrate into the new areas and to remain unchallenged

[14] Poor, *op. cit.*, 1885, p. 832.

until further developments occurred to threaten the economic development of these sections.

Such changes were not long in making their appearance. Before the Civil War there had been no marked tendency toward great accumulations of wealth. However, the period following the Civil War and reconstruction witnessed a very marked change in this respect. The great advance in the applied sciences, the industrial stimulation resulting from the war, the development of the corporate idea, the increasing population with increasing demand for the products of industry, all combined to bring large scale production into prominence with its attendant phenomena—great accumulations of wealth and combinations of all kinds.

The potential elements of discord which were latent in these rapidly developing economic institutions and in the expansion of industry were soon to assert themselves in many forms of political discontent. The period of the war, during which the Republicans, who had come into power as a distinctly sectional party, and the Democrats completely filled the field, was entirely dominated by the issue of the preservation of the Union. The difficult reconstruction period immediately following the war found the nation hard pressed to recover from the devastations of the war and the problems attendant upon the reconstruction policies so absorbed political attention that there was little or no manifest dissent from the two main parties, although both parties were struggling with internal difficulties and the reconstruction policies adopted by the party in power (the Republicans) had far-reaching effects upon the future course of political activity. But with the close of the war and the Union fairly established, with the reconstruction period passing and industrial and commercial expansion proceeding at a rapid pace and with the party in power growing more tyrannical every year, elements of discord were not slow in presenting themselves. In this intensive economic and industrial expansion together with the disappearance of the frontier which had previously been an open door of opportunity to the oppressed and discontented may be found the causes which resulted in the tendency toward protective and co-operative organization along class lines which

were so characteristic of the period from 1869 to 1880, and which broke the bonds of party allegiance and established the precedent for independence in voting which reached its climax in 1912 in the Progressive movement. Political parties had become well established institutions by 1872. They had no sooner become crystallized into formal organizations, however, than their formal creeds and policies began to chafe at various points. It is in the extent of these chafings and the means which were developed to relieve them that we must look for the forces and the process by which the political activity of the people of the United States has been made to relate itself to the ever-changing needs of its people.

Summary

The foregoing chapters have attempted to show that the origin of the political party as an institution is to be traced to the early economic interests of the two sections of the country along the Atlantic seaboard; that this division of interest had become sufficiently strong prior to 1850 to cause the migrants into the Middle West to retain their former sympathies and to be more closely allied with the free than with the slave states even before the formal expression of their sympathy in the rise of the Republican Party in 1856; that the early political divisions which were crystallized into formal parties by the event of the Civil War have tended to remain intact and to center their political activity around the party whose standard they adopted during that time; that the more recently developed sections of the United States have tended to become allied with one party or the other in proportion to the extent to which they have drawn their inhabitants from the two divergent sections of the country, and that the migration of the population into these sections has been conditioned largely upon the advance of the railroads and the connections which they have made with eastern and southern centers of population. It is clearly evident that the two most recently developed sections of the United States, the Middle West and the West, although connecting themselves to a certain extent with one party or the other, have shown an unmistakable tendency to be less domi-

nated by a single party and to foster a spirit of liberalism. This spirit of liberalism is seen to be related to three sets of factors. (1) These sections were settled by migrants from the two older sections, who brought with them their past political affiliations, and although the migrants from one section may have outnumbered those from the other, so that the section became predominantly affiliated with one party, there was, nevertheless, always a strong opposition in the minority party. (2) There were present in the population, large numbers of foreign born who had come into the West and the Middle West without previous residence in other sections of the United States. These foreign-born citizens, therefore, having no preconceived notions of party loyalty, were free to espouse the cause of whichever party seemed the most advantageous to them or to throw their strength into a reform movement divorced from either party. (3) The economic interest of these sections, consequent upon the spread of population into them, became increasingly divorced from those of the two sections which the policies and platforms of the existing political machines had been developed to protect. In the first two of these forces, the past affiliations and beliefs of the migrant settlers and the independence from past affiliation of the foreign-born citizen, is to be seen the explanation of the tendency toward independence in the political activity of the sections, while in the latter is to be seen the cause which made imperative these new responses.

That the two main parties developed by the divergence of interests between the two old sections of the country, and formalized into the Democratic and Republican Parties by the Civil War have maintained their supremacy is evident. That they have maintained this supremacy by an increasing tendency to expand and amend their platforms and policies to protect and foster the interests of these newly developing sections and the ever-changing conditions in the country at large is the thesis of the following chapters.[15]

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[15] The best general discussions of third parties are to be found in: Ray, *An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*, pp. 40–77. Haynes, *Third Party Movements*. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Party System in the United States*, pp. 294–320. Fess, *The History of Political Theory and Party Organization in the United States*, pp. 241–268.

IV

Economic and Social Forces Fostering Third Party Movements, 1865–1922

Early Agricultural Organization

The fundamental economic change which was taking place in the United States was the change which turned the United States from a primarily agricultural economy to one of manufacturing and commercial activity. The earliest political conflicts had arisen because of the divergence of interests between these two fundamental industries which at a very early date became identified with certain sections of the country, and the conflict thus early engendered has continued to prevail, though in varying degrees and forms.

Prior to the Civil War, the agricultural group had predominated and the southern Democrats who were, in the main, engaged in agricultural pursuits were largely represented in the government of the country. The supremacy which they had enjoyed during the early days was never regained after 1865 and the cause is to be found, not so much in the handicaps imposed upon the agricultural districts of the South after the war as in the tremendous advances which were occurring in the field of industry as compared to that of agriculture. The full force of this change is realized when it is seen that during the decade from 1860 to 1870 the number of manufacturing establishments in the United States increased 80 per cent, while the value of the products of manufacture more than doubled and the actual quantity of product was 35 per cent higher than in 1860. The per capita quantity of products of manufactures increased 10 per cent during the decade while the per capita quantity of agricultural products decreased 24 per cent.[1] During the period from 1850 to 1890 the value of manufactures formed an increasingly larger share of the total value product while agriculture produced an increasingly smaller share. Prior to

[1] W. I. King, *Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, pp. 144.

TABLE V

ESTIMATED INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL VALUE PRODUCT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1850–1910[1]

Total Product—Money Income in Millions of Dollars

YEAR	TOTAL INCOME[2]	PER CAPITA INCOME	PRICE INDEX[3]	PURCHASING POWER
1850	2,214	95	139.2	69
1860	3,636	116	141.3	82
1870	6,720	174	221.6	79
1880	7,391	147	132.4	111
1890	12,082	192	113.6	169
1900	17,965	236	101.7	232
1910	30,530	332	126.5	262

Shares of the National Value Product

YEAR	MANUFACTURING[4]	TRANSPORTATION[5]	AGRICULTURE[6]	MINING[7]
1850	434.2	411.9	764.9	23.0
1860	801.0	718.6	1,088.2	62.0
1870	1,607.5	742.9	1,783.2	145.0
1880	1,803.5	927.4	1,476.0	218.0
1890	3,822.3	1,194.9	2,260.0	329.0
1900	5,125.3	1,581.8	3,688.0	591.0
1910	8,437.6	2,656.0	6,842.0	976.0

Per cent of the Total Product Contributed by Each Factor

1850	19.6	18.6	34.6	1.0
1860	22.0	19.8	29.9	1.7
1870	23.9	11.1	26.5	2.2
1880	24.4	12.5	20.0	2.9
1890	31.6	9.9	18.7	2.7
1900	28.5	8.8	20.5	3.3
1910	27.6	8.7	22.4	3.2

[1] This table is arranged from the estimates appearing in, *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States*, by W. I. King, 1915.

[2] For method of estimation, see *Ibid.*, p. 129.

[3] Wholesale price index reduced to base 1890–1899 from the *Aldrich Report on Wholesale Prices*, Part I, p. 91; and from *Bulletin 114* of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 149. The price level is given for the year preceding the year of the census.

[4] Value added by manufacturing process, less expense for fuel building materials and other products of other industries necessary for upkeep of plants.

[5] Gross earnings less depreciation charges, fuel and material used up for equipment, etc.

[6] Value of product consumed on farm for direct satisfaction of human wants or sold to outside consumers; also includes rental value of residences less expenditures for building materials; deducts machinery and fertilizer purchased.

[7] Value of product sold, less new machinery and buildings and depreciation on capital goods employed.

1870 the percentage of the total value product produced by agriculture was larger than that produced by manufacturing; after 1870, however, manufacturing contributed an increasingly larger proportion. Likewise, the per capita product of manufactures steadily increased prior to 1870 while agriculture steadily declined and after 1870 the per capita product of industry became increasingly greater than that of agriculture (see Table V). Thus agriculture became, after 1870, both from the point of view of the value of product and of the quantity of output, subordinate to the manufacturing industry.

This fundamental change in the economic development of the United States played no insignificant part in the transfer of political attention from agricultural to industrial interests. It is a notorious fact that by 1872 the financial and industrial interests were in great favor with the government and that it was the governmental protection afforded these interests which irritated and chafed the agricultural population of the South and West during the period from 1869–1892.

This fundamental change in the economic development of the United States gave impetus to the already apparent sectional division of labor. With the increasing development of manufacturing in New England and in the Middle Atlantic States, agriculture upon a large scale became less and less profitable there. Several causes combined to lessen the agricultural interest of these increasingly industrial sections.[2] As land values rose, land had to produce more per acre and it became evident that this increased yield could best be realized by diversified farming. Again Eastern farms were small and not always adapted to machine methods which were rapidly developing. The presence of large cities readily accessible to the rural sections encouraged the increase of truck gardens to supply the market with fresh vegetables and made the dairy industry also very profitable. In this section intensive rather than extensive farming became necessary, and there developed a tendency for the crops requiring large acreage to be pushed further and further West. Prior to 1870, New York, Pennsylvania and

[2] Thompson, C. W., "Movement of Wheat Growing," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVIII, 570–584.

Ohio had produced largely cereals. In 1850, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York were the three leading states in the production of wheat and together they produced practically one-half of the wheat of the United States.[3] In 1860, Illinois, Wisconsin and Indiana were the three leading states with Ohio occupying fourth place and Pennsylvania and New York the sixth and seventh places respectively. By 1860, the Middle Western States were producing 53 per cent of the wheat of the United States and 39 per cent of the corn, while the North Atlantic States which had produced 42 per cent of the wheat and 16 per cent of the corn in 1850 only produced 22 per cent of the wheat and 13 per cent of the corn. The significant changes which have taken place may be illustrated by the change in the corn and wheat areas. In the case of wheat, Table VI shows that after 1850 the percentage of the total wheat production grown in the Middle Atlantic States steadily declined from 42 per cent in 1850 to 15 per cent in 1870 and to 5.4 per cent in 1910,

[3] Veblen, "Acreage and Production of Wheat by Groups of States," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 90. See also, *United States Census*, 1860, p. 200.

TABLE VI

THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL PRODUCTION OF WHEAT AND CORN GROWN IN THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1850–1920[1]

Percentage of Total Production—by Divisions

	WHEAT			CORN		
1850	MIDDLE WEST[2]	NORTH ATLANTIC[3]	WESTERN[4]	MIDDLE WEST	NORTH ATLANTIC	WESTERN
1850	40.7	42.1	.1	31.4	15.5	.02
1860	52.5	21.8	3.6	38.8	12.5	9.8
1870	61.1	14.7	7.9	45.6	11.0	30.8
1880	70.0	7.4	14.9	51.8	6.8	10.0
1890	44.2	8.5	25.7	43.0	4.6	13.1
1900	38.3	5.0	36.4	47.2	3.4	16.8
1910	31.7	55.4	33.9	31.1	3.7	12.9
1920	19.6	5.3	47.2	35.6	3.5	15.0

[1] Production statistics for 1850–1890, *Census of Agriculture*, 1890, pp. 84–115; for 1900 *Census of Agriculture*, 1910, pp. 572–590; for 1910–1920, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States*, 1920.

[2] Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana.

[3] New England States and New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

[4] Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nevada, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, Utah, California.

while the opposite phenomenon occurred in the Middle Western and the far Western States. After 1850, the percentage of the total product grown in the Middle West increased at the rate of 10 per cent each decade until 1880 when 70 per cent of all wheat grown in the United States was grown in the Middle West. Since 1880, production of wheat in the Middle West has steadily declined while it has steadily increased in the states of the far West. In 1880 when only one of the Pacific railroads, the Central Pacific, had been completed, this section produced only 15 per cent of the total product and California was largely responsible for that amount. By 1890, five years after the completion of the last Pacific railroad, 26 per cent of the total crop was grown in the far West, while in 1920, 47 per cent came from this region and the Middle West which in 1880 had produced 70 per cent was producing barely 20 per cent. Thus from the time of the laying of the trunk line railroads in the Middle West, until the opening of the far West by the completion of the Pacific railroads, that is, from 1860 to 1880, the wheat-growing region was being gradually transferred from the North Atlantic States to the Middle Western States. After the completion of the Pacific railroads, that is, from 1880 to the present date, the wheat-growing region has continued to be pushed westward until at the present time the states of the far West are predominant in the wheat industry.

The same phenomenon, although to a lesser degree, has occurred in the case of corn (see Table VI). Prior to 1850, the South had been the largest producer of corn. By 1860, the Middle West had become a formidable competitor and by 1880, 52 per cent of the entire crop of the United States came from this section.

The decline in the production of cereals indicates, somewhat, the extent of the decline of agriculture in the Middle Atlantic States after the beginning of the rapid growth of industrial and commercial activity about 1870. What agricultural interests remained were directed along somewhat different lines. New England turned largely to the production of hay and potatoes, while New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland found dairying[4] and truck gardens profitable.

[4] In 1870, New York and Pennsylvania produced 33 per cent of the butter, and 44 per cent of the cheese produced in the United States. *U. S. Census of Agriculture.* 1870.

The growing tendency of agricultural interests to be pushed further West and South after 1870 is seen also in the relative number and the average size of farms in the various sections at each census enumeration from 1850 to 1910-(see Table VII).

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES BY DIVISIONS AND THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER IN EACH DIVISION, 1850–1920[1]

	TOTAL NUMBER OF FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES BY DIVISIONS				PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER IN EACH DIVISION			
YR.	NORTH ATLANTIC[2]	MIDDLE WEST[3]	SOUTH	WEST	NORTH ATL.	MIDDLE WEST	SOUTH	WEST
1850	517,944	383,139	540,278	6,712	36	26	37	1
1860	601,325	666,061	728,715	47,976	29	33	36	2
1870	636,419	924,527	998,604	100,435	24	35	38	4
1880	745,840	1,263,010	1,696,951	302,106	19	32	42	8
1890	709,130	1,327,785	2,023,854	503,872	16	29	44	11
1900	733,574	1,519,104	2,710,930	590,153	13	27	47	11
1910	717,157	1,496,670	3,218,130	758,500	11	24	51	12
1920	581,751	1,476,661	3,422,416	920,634	9	23	53	14

[1] *United States Census of Agriculture*, 1890, pp. 45–115, for the period 1850–1890; for 1890–1910, see *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1919; for 1920, see *Statistics of Agriculture*, 1920, p. 33. Compare with Table XXIV, p. 37, *Census of Agriculture*, 1900, Part I.

[2] Includes New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

[3] Includes Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota.

TABLE VIII

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARMS IN THE UNITED STATES BY DIVISIONS AND THE PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ACREAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IN EACH DIVISION, 1850–1920[1]

	AVERAGE SIZE IN ACRES				PER CENT OF TOTAL ACREAGE IN EACH DIVISION			
YEAR	NORTH ATL.	MIDDLE WEST	SOUTH	WEST	NORTH ATL.	MIDDLE WEST	SOUTH	WEST
1850	113	143	333	695	19	18	60	2
1860	108	140	337	367	15	21	59	4
1870	104	124	217	336	15	27	50	6
1880	98	122	154	313	13	27	48	11
1890	95	133	139	324	10	25	45	19
1900	98	119	129	396	8	21	44	20
1910	99	123	107	297	7	20	42	24
1920	94	123	103	429	6	19	48	34

[1] From 1850–1890 data from *United States Census of Agriculture*, 1890, pp. 45–115; from 1890–1910, *Statistical Abstract*, 1919; for 1920, *United States Census of Agriculture*, 1920, p. 33.

In 1850, 36 per cent of the total number of farms in the United States were in New England and the Middle Atlantic States, and 37 per cent were in the South. The average size of Eastern farms, however, was 113 acres while that of Southern was 333 acres. Thus, at that date the North Atlantic States had slightly less than 20 per cent of the total farm acreage of the United States while 60 per cent was located in the South. From 1850 to 1910 there has been a steady decline in the percentage of the total number of farms in the East, while there has been a steady increase in the number in the South until in 1910, one-half of the farms of the United States, comprising 42 per cent of the total acreage were located in the South. The Middle Western States show a steady increase in number of farms from 1850 to 1880. By 1870, 35 per cent of the total number were in these states. The Western States have experienced a steady increase in the relative number of farms. Although in actual numbers there have been fewer farms in this section than in the North Atlantic States, they have had, since 1880, a much larger acreage. The increase both in number of farms and in total acreage began after 1870, that is, after the beginning of the Pacific railroads.

Between 1860 and 1870, three of the North Atlantic States, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, experienced an actual decline in the number of farms. Massachusetts lost at this time 9,000 of her 35,000 farms.[5] Between 1880 and 1890 every state in this section experienced a decline. The decline in New York State was 14,825; in Massachusetts, 4,032; in New Jersey, 3,479; in Connecticut, 3,248; in New Hampshire, 3,030; in Vermont, 2,949; in Maine, 2,396; and in Rhode Island, 626. All other sections during this same period experienced an increase in the number of farms, although the increase in the Middle Western and the Southern States was not so great as it had been during the period from 1860 to 1880.

The extent of the development of agriculture and the extent to which agriculture became a determining influence in the political and social life of the various sections of the country

[5] *U. S. Census of Agriculture*, 1910, pp. 45–115.

can best be estimated perhaps, by the number of people whose economic interests were identified with it; and the extent to which it was the prevailing occupation within the various sections. Table IX shows that as late as 1850 the North Atlantic States had practically as large a percentage of their total population dependent upon agriculture as did the South while almost

TABLE IX
PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE BY DIVISIONS,[1] 1850–1920

	NORTH ATLANTIC	MIDDLE WEST	SOUTH	WEST
1850	30.4	46.2	34.4	16.4
1860	27.2	45.4	35.0	27.1
1870	23.3	44.6	41.4	29.5
1880	22.7	47.3	53.5	43.2
1890	17.6	38.9	50.8	40.9
1900	14.5	34.2	54.1	36.9
1910	11.6	28.5	52.1	31.6
1920	8.4	23.9	47.6	29.7

[1] The percentages for this table were obtained from the estimate of the total number of people on farms obtained by multiplying the number of farms as given in Table VII by the average size of the family for each division as reported by the *Census of Population* for 1890, Part I, p. 764, and the *Statistical Abstract*, 1919 and 1920.

one-half of the population of the Middle West was agricultural. After the Civil War, however, and with the speeding up of industrial processes about 1870, as indicated in Table V, the number of persons who were dependent upon agriculture for a livelihood in the North Atlantic States steadily declined, and by 1890, only 18 per cent of the total population of these states were so engaged. The Middle West continued to have practically half of its population identified with agriculture through 1880. The South by 1880 was 54 per cent agricultural while the far Western States had reached their high point of 43 per cent. In 1890, two years before the last great political organization of the farmers in the form of a political party, 39 per cent of the population of the Middle Western States, 51 per cent of the population of the South and 41 per cent of the population of the far West may be said to have been directly dependent upon

agriculture, while only 17.6 per cent of the North Atlantic group were so occupied.

Although the above figures present a very fair picture of the distribution of the population actually engaged in agriculture, they do not indicate the full measure of the influence of the agriculturalist. Throughout the South, the Middle West and the West, where urbanization had not proceeded to such an extent as it had in the East, a large part of the population of the states were living in small towns or villages of less than 2,500 inhabitants. These small towns are almost entirely dependent upon the surrounding rural territory for their financial and commercial support and for that reason their economic interests are inseparably identified with those of the farmer.

With the passing of agriculture to a secondary place in the economic development of the country after 1870, it became evident that the political activities of the party in power were more and more dominated by the financial, commercial and industrial groups. The growing evidence of this control combined with the hard times accompanying the long period of price deflation after the Civil War, and the general financial uncertainty which pervaded the atmosphere at all times and was made concrete in the financial panic of 1873 all combined to arouse the farmers to a sense of their inability to cope with their economic difficulties as individuals and lead ultimately to the organization of farm groups, first for the purpose of co-operative buying and selling and later for political power. That these farm organizations should have appeared at the time they did and in the West, Middle West and South, is to be accounted for largely by the fact that, as we have seen, these sections were primarily agricultural sections and that during the periods of greatest depression the agricultural interests were the ones which were the least protected.

The extent to which the farmers of the country were hard pressed by the readjustments following the Civil War can be measured somewhat in terms of prices. How much did the farmer get for his produce and what did he have to pay for the products of other industries which were necessary for his life and comfort? During the thirty-seven years from 1860 to

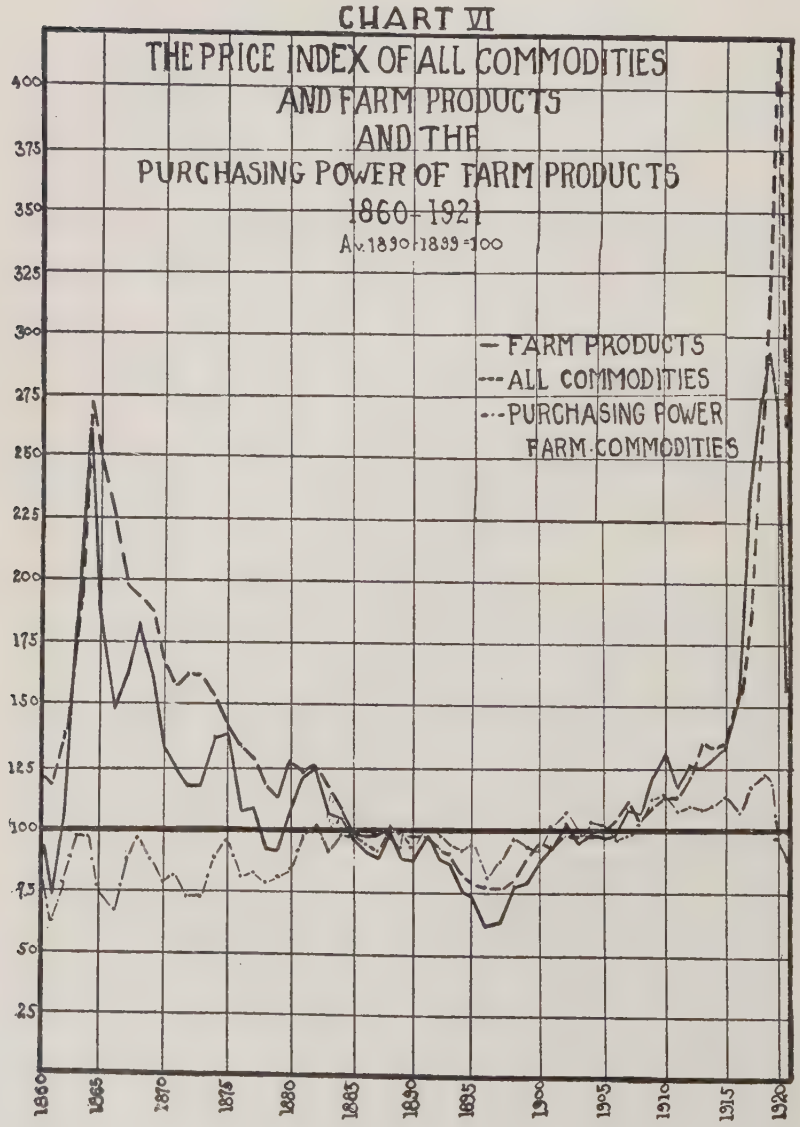


CHART VI
THE PRICE INDEX OF ALL COMMODITIES
AND FARM PRODUCTS
AND THE
PURCHASING POWER OF FARM PRODUCTS
1860-1921
Av. 1890-1899 = 100
— FARM PRODUCTS
--- ALL COMMODITIES
---PURCHASING POWER
FARM COMMODITIES
400
375
350
325
300
275
250
225
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
1860
1865
1870
1875
1880
1885
1890
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1920

TABLE X

INDEX OF WHOLESALE PRICES BY GROUPS OF COMMODITIES FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1860–1913: 1900–1909 = 100

YEAR	FARM PRODUCTS	FOODS	CLOTH AND CLOTHING	FUEL AND LIGHTING	METALS AND IMPLEMTS.	LUMBER AND BUILDING MATERIALS	DRUGS AND CHEMICALS	HOUSE FURNISH-INGS	ALL COMMOD-ITIES
1860	92	112	126	110	131	77	232	175	120
1861	74	101	120	109	127	90	247	182	118
1862	106	120	162	109	142	123	299	139	139
1863	183	150	267	148	177	151	324	225	191
1864	260	220	388	211	284	208	392	297	271
1865	190	214	340	253	257	175	400	294	250
1866	148	207	294	248	229	161	376	209	222
1867	162	195	228	204	212	151	313	190	199
1868	184	204	189	195	194	146	290	238	194
1869	162	194	197	194	194	144	299	208	189
1870	133	177	180	174	168	121	273	186	168
1871	125	152	172	170	164	122	247	152	156
1872	117	151	183	158	191	131	250	157	162
1873	117	152	174	164	189	133	265	173	161
1874	136	153	158	163	165	121	259	170	153
1875	136	143	146	156	157	111	237	152	143
1876	106	134	132	141	155	107	228	137	133
1877	106	131	125	116	139	99	297	131	129
1878	91	111	115	115	126	90	282	123	117
1879	90	103	113	103	123	91	263	117	112
1880	106	117	130	121	141	98	253	122	125

TABLE X—*Continued*

Year	Farm Products	Foods	Cloth and Clothing	Fuel and Lighting	Metals and Implemts.	Lumber and Building Materials	Drugs and Chemicals	House Furnishings	All Commodities
1881	120	122	123	123	128	96	231	112	122
1882	125	130	123	122	130	99	220	112	124
1883	106	125	117	115	121	93	189	109	117
1884	104	113	109	97	105	91	164	105	107
1885	95	100	104	87	95	90	129	103	98
1886	90	97	104	84	94	92	115	100	97
1887	88	103	105	88	94	88	115	100	97
1888	99	114	105	91	96	89	108	98	100
1889	88	104	103	90	92	89	106	97	97
1890	87	101	102	89	98	87	101	97	96
1891	96	104	100	87	91	85	95	96	98
1892	88	93	98	86	87	80	94	92	91
1893	85	99	96	85	82	80	92	90	91
1894	75	89	86	79	74	76	82	87	82
1895	74	85	83	84	75	74	80	83	79
1896	62	75	82	89	76	73	85	82	77
1897	67	78	82	82	70	71	86	77	76
1898	76	85	84	81	70	75	97	80	79
1899	79	88	86	90	93	83	102	83	86
1900	86	94	95	103	98	91	106	92	94
1901	92	95	91	102	91	91	106	96	92
1902	103	100	92	115	96	93	105	97	96
1903	94	96	95	127	96	95	103	98	97
1904	100	96	98	113	89	96	101	97	97
1905	98	97	100	109	100	100	100	95	98

TABLE X—*Continued*

Year	Farm Products	Foods	Cloth and Clothing	Fuel and Lighting	Metals and Implemts.	Lumber and Building Materials	Drugs and Chemicals	House Furnishings	All Commodities
1906	98	101	108	112	111	110	93	97	104
1907	109	105	114	115	117	115	100	103	110
1908	106	108	105	111	102	105	100	99	104
1909	121	112	107	110	102	109	103	97	108
1910	130	115	110	107	105	120	108	97	112
1911	116	109	114	104	91	98	119	106	114
1912	126	116	125	106	98	110	117	104	122
1913	125	117	116	108	110	110	117	103	135
1914	128	117	119	106	106	96	114	104	133
1915	131	116	120	108	103	107	110	107	134
1916	152	142	146	139	132	164	119	164	155
1917	236	202	204	196	194	231	157	204	194
1918	275	225	129	259	181	201	177	228	264
1919	292	243	244	283	192	178	226	184	319
1920	272	279	262	328	264	206	350	216	494
1921	155	174	167	195	221	143	193	140	263

[1] Weighted index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics converted to the base 1900–1909 equal 100 per cent. See Bulletin, No. 181, United State Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 266, for the original series to 1890. After 1890, the weighted index of the Department of Labor computed on a 1913 base was used. The latter was also converted to the base 1900–1909 and since there was so much similarity between the indices during the period from 1890 to 1913 where there was duplicate data it seemed possible to join the two series in order to get a continuous picture of the general trend of prices throughout the period from 1860 to 1921.

[2] The purchasing power of the groups of commodities as shown in Chart VII was computed by dividing the price index of each group of commodities for each year from 1860 to 1921 by the all commodity price index for the corresponding year, thus expressing the power of each group of commodities to command other commodities.

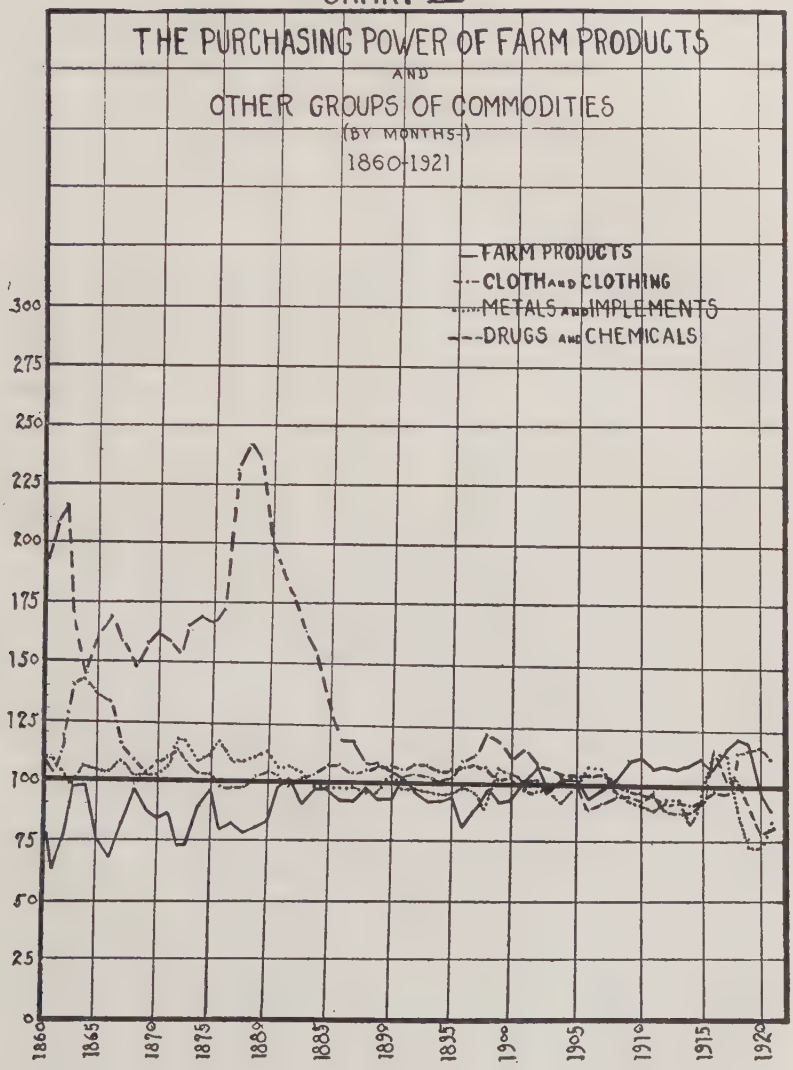
1897 the general trend of prices was downward (see all-commodity index, Chart VI and Table X). During the first forty years of this period, that is, from 1860 to 1900, the price index for farm products, with two exceptions, in 1882 and 1891, was consistently lower than that of other groups of commodities combined in the all-commodity index. That is to say, that during all this period the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar averaged a hundred cents on the dollar only twice. From 1860 to 1880 the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar ranged between 63 and 96 cents. In 1861, it fell to the very low point of 63 cents. The periods from 1868 to 1874 and from 1876 to 1881 were both periods of very low purchasing power for the agriculturalist. In the years 1872 and 1873, the panic year and the year preceding the farmer's dollar was worth only 72 cents. It is significant to notice here that the organization of the Granges, to promote farmer interests, began in 1869. The organization reached its greatest development both in numbers and in the extent of its territorial organization during 1871, 1872 and 1873 (see Table XI), and began to decline in 1874 and 1875 when agricultural prices were on the up-grade and the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar was greater than it had been at any time since 1864.

The fact of low prices for his product, in the face of large crops the cultivation of which had been paid for at the prevailing high prices, made it necessary that the farmer devise some plan for marketing his produce and for purchasing his supplies in bulk at wholesale rates. To this end the Granges, organized at first to promote social and intellectual advancement,[6] began to devise co-operative schemes for buying and selling.

The incentive to organization on the part of the farmer was further intensified when he considered his economic condition as compared to that of other groups of workmen. Chart VII shows that from 1865 to 1881 the purchasing power of

[6] The original idea of the founders of the Grange appears to have been that the benefit to the members was to be primarily social and intellectual. By 1872 it became apparent that the financial advantage would be a greater incentive to the farmer to join. This lead to two forms of activity which gave the order importance in the history of the period: (1) The effort to secure cheaper transportation; (2) the introduction of all kinds of schemes for co-operation in purchasing supplies, marketing products, insurance and even in the manufacturing of agricultural implements. See Buck, *The Granger Movement*, p. 53.

CHART VII


THE PURCHASING POWER OF FARM PRODUCTS
AND
OTHER GROUPS OF COMMODITIES
(BY MONTHS)
1860-1921
FARM PRODUCTS
CLOTH AND CLOTHING
METALS AND IMPLEMENTS
DRUGS AND CHEMICALS
300
275
250
225
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
0
1860
1865
1870
1875
1880
1885
1890
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1920

farm products was consistently lower than that of any other group of commodities with the exception of lumber and building materials which were lower in price than farm products from 1863 to 1872 and from 1874 to 1875. During all this period the purchasing power of metals and metal products, house furnishing goods, drugs and chemicals and fuel and lighting was not only one hundred cents on the dollar but for the most part was far above one hundred cents. In 1872, the year in which the Granges began to inaugurate and encourage plans for the development of co-operative buying and selling and in 1873 the year of its most rapid growth, the purchasing power of farm products was lower than that of any other group of commodities. In the former year, farm products stood at 72, foods 93, cloths and clothing 113, fuel and lighting 98, metals and implements 118, lumber and building materials 81, drugs and chemicals 154, house furnishings 97. In 1873 farm products remained at 72 cents on the dollar, while all the other groups, with the exception of cloths and clothing and metals and implements had an increased purchasing power, and the purchasing power of these two groups although showing a very slight decline was still materially above a dollar, that of cloths and clothing being $1.08 while that of metals and implements was $1.17. It may be noted here that although the organization of Granges began in the South, the organization after the inauguration of co-operative schemes, spread most rapidly in the Middle Western States during 1872 and the first half of 1873, while the period of its most rapid development in the South came after the first quarter of 1873. The speeding up of the organization in the Middle West from nine to twelve months prior to that in the South may be accounted for partially by the fact that the price of cotton was relatively better than that of either wheat or corn until after the middle of the year 1873. The price of both wheat and corn broke from a year to a year and a half sooner than did that of cotton and even after the break in the price of cotton, beginning with 1872, the purchasing power of cotton was still above normal until the last half of 1874.[7]

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[7] For actual prices of wheat, corn and cotton, see Aldrich Report, Senate Report, No. 1394, 52d Congress, Second Session, Part II.

Thus it becomes clearly apparent why about 1872 the Granges over the country began to look to the financial advantages of the farmer and why, having turned their attention in that direction, they took on such phenomenal growth.[8] The total number of Granges increased from 11 in 1868 to 8,400 in 1873 with a total membership in 1874 of 1,500,000.[9] The record of the month-to-month organization of Granges, shows the phenomenal development of the organization during the panic year 1873 and the subsequent year (see Table XI). At the close of 1872,

TABLE XI

NUMBER OF NEW GRANGES ORGANIZED MONTHLY JANUARY, 1872, TO SEPTEMBER, 1896[1]

MONTH	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876
January	54	158	2,119	306	109
February	61	338	2,239	286	108
March	96	666	2,024	361	117
April	98	571	1,487	309	88
May	65	696	937	242	58
June	86	623	752	170	45
July	115	611	419	125	32
August	79	829	396	125	21
September	79	917	412	89	12
October	91	1,050	410	92	...
November	109	974	363	103	...
December	120	1,235	383	100	...

[1] Kelly, *Patrons of Husbandry*, p. 422; *Proceedings of the National Grange*, Vol. IX, p. 189, November, 1875, and Vol. X, p. 178, 1876.

[2] Martin, *The Farmer's War Against Monopolies*, p. 415.

twenty-five states had active subordinate Granges. In the Middle Western group the movement had penetrated every state; all states of the South except Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Florida and Texas, had organized Granges. They had been introduced into California and Oregon, but as yet they had made little progress in the Eastern and North Atlantic States except in Vermont.[10]

[8] Martin, *The Farmer's War Against Monopolies*, p. 415.

[9] Appleton's *Cyclopedia*, p. 625. The number of Granges by years were: 1868, 11; 1869, 39; 1870, 38; 1871, 125; 1872, 1,105; 1873, 8,400. Buck, *The Granger Movement*, pp. 412–421.

[10] Buck, *The Granger Movement*, p. 412-421.

The Eastern farmers were largely out of sympathy with what appeared to be, at that time, the principal aim of the order in the Middle West, namely, the reduction of the cost of transportation of farm products from the West to the Eastern markets. This attitude of the Eastern farmers may be explained somewhat by the effect of Western competition upon Eastern prices. With the growth of dairy faming and market gardening in these states the farmers were relieved from the pressure of Western competition and the order began to gain ground in the North Atlantic States, although it was always the social side of the organization and not the economic which predominated in the East.[11]

At the beginning of 1873, there were 1,362 Granges, by the close of the year 10,029 had been established, which was an increase of 8,667 or over 600 per cent. The number of state Granges was 10 at the beginning of the year and 32 at the close. This was the sixth year of the Grange organization.[12] In 1874, the seventh annual session of the National Grange met at St. Louis. It represented thirty-two state and territorial Granges having jurisdiction over more than 10,000 subordinate Granges and near 500,000 members. This body formulated the principles and policies of the movement in a document, the principles of which have been largely incorporated into the platforms of every subsequent agricultural organization in the United States.[13] The Grange organization was not primarily a political one, in fact there were strict constitutional provisions against all political attempts,[14] but the members of the Grange were political citizens and as such were tremendously aware of their political influence when they voted together.[15]

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[11] Buck, *The Granger Movement* p. 61.

[12] Kelley, *Patrons of Husbandry*, pp. 414–421.

[13] Darrow, *Patrons of Husbandry*, p. 41. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[14] For the Constitution and By-Laws of the National Grange, see *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, pp. 622–624. For history of the organization, see *Ibid.*, p. 622. For the position of state Granges upon political affiliations, see Regulations for Kansas, *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, pp. 396–397. For Missouri, see *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 576.

[15] For historical account of the Granger Movement the following are recommended: Buck, S. G., *The Granger Movement*. Dunning, N. A., *Farm rs' Alliance History*. Kelley, *The Patrons of Husbandry*. Darrow, J. W., *Origin and Early History of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry*. Aiken, D. W., *The Grange, Its Origin, Progress and Educational Purpose*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Special Report, No. 55. Martin, *The Granger Movement*.

Two factors both of which were the outgrowth of the industrial expansion after 1865 may be considered as largely responsible for the economic conditions of the farmers which presented themselves at this time, namely, the tendency toward the development of a one-crop system in the South, the Middle West and the West, and the rapid expansion of the railroads under virtually monopoly conditions with the controlling elements in the monopoly largely in the East. The first of these factors has already been seen in the increasing tendency to push agricultural crops requiring large acreage into the West, the Middle West and the South. The practical effect of this transition was to create a kind of sectional division of labor, and the West and Middle West as well as the South suffered from the consequences of a one-crop system. The West became, for the time being, producers of cereals largely, and the prosperity of the farmer depended not so much upon his ability to produce crops as upon his ability to send crops to consumers cheaply and to get back goods for his own consumption. The second of these factors was likewise a result of industrial expansion. The Westward advance of settlement and the increasing sectional division of labor made exchange of goods necessary; in fact, made the further development of the country conditioned, in part, upon the development of an adequate transportation system. In the course of time, the competition which had been counted upon to regulate rates failed, largely because parallel roads were unprofitable and because they were not parallel there was competition at certain points only. The rapidly developing process of pooling tended to eliminate what little competition there had been. As a result, the system of transportation tended to develop under monopoly conditions at the same time that more of the wealth of the country had to be transported and thus become subject to the charges of the monopoly system.[16] Under the system which had developed, the farmer felt that in order to realize a moderate return upon

[16] Bonham, *Railroad Secre y and Trust.* Stickney, *The Railroad Problem.* Ringwalt, *Development of Transportation System in America.* Meyer, *Railroad Legislation in the United States.* Noyes, *American Railroad Rates.* Flint, *Railroads of the United States, History and Statistics.* Hadley, *Railroad Transportation, History and Laws.* Lardner, *Railroad Economy,* 1850; Part I. *History of Railroad Monopolies.*

his investment of capital and labor, he must in some way, secure a cheapening of transportation costs and a reduction in the cost of handling commodities, that is, in the middleman's profits. It was to the solution of these two problems that the farmers first directed their attention. The fact of economic stringency had given impetus to their desire to organize for mutual advantage and the unsatisfactory transportation and marketing facilities had given direction to their endeavors.

The immediate quarrel with the railroads was that over rates and discrimination as between localities.[17] It was generally felt by the farmers that under the prevailing system any economic advantage which might come to the farmer either because of an increased crop yield or because of higher prices was immediately absorbed by the railroads in freight rates. This contention of the farmers was not altogether without foundation. The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission of 1902 on freight tariffs shows clearly that although after 1864 there was a general downward tendency in freight rates on all grain from Chicago to New York that there was a wide variation as between seasonal changes.[18] During the months of September, October and November when it was necessary that large amounts of grain be moved to markets, there was a noticeable increase in rates. Between October 10 and October 27, 1865, the freight rate was advanced three times on grain all rail from Chicago to New York. From 85 cents per 100 pounds on October 10, 1865, the rate was raised to 95 cents on October 17th, and to $1.05 on October 27th. The same thing occurred during the month of September and by the 9th of that month the rate had been increased to $1.30 per 100 pounds. During the years of 1870, 1871, 1872, and 1873 frequent changes of the rate schedule continued and always with an upward rate during the months of harvest. The increased production of wheat in the Middle Atlantic States between 1869 and 1880, made it imperative for the prosperity of that section that a large portion of

[17] Noyes, *American Railroad Rates*, p. 201.

[18] For rates on classified traffic all rail, Chicago to New York, January 1, 1862 to April 1, 1902, see Report of Interstate Commerce Commission, *Railways in the United States, 1902*, Part II, Freight Tariffs, p. 44.

its product should find a market in the East since the supply in the Middle West far exceeded the local demand of that section. This will be readily seen when it is noted that in 1870, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota together produced one-third of all the wheat grown in the United States,[19] while the Middle Western States as a whole produced 61 per cent of all the wheat raised in 1870 and 70 per cent in 1880 (see Table VI). During all this period the farmers of the Middle West saw the profits of their industry eaten up by excessive freight charges or forced down to the depths by increasingly lower prices.[20] If there was a large crop they were forced to look to Eastern markets for its disposal and the imperative necessity of moving the crops made it possible for the railroads to increase their rates without material danger of lessening traffic; if there was a short crop and prices therefore higher, the railroads felt equally justified in raising their rates to make up for the lessened quantity to be transported. The farmer was the loser in either case, and whatever profit occurred either because of increased production or of increased price was immediately absorbed by the railroads.

By the middle of 1873 the farmers throughout the country had recognized their economic disadvantage under the existing monopoly control of the railroads. The repeated failures of their co-operative schemes and of their endeavors to wrest from the railroads what they believed to be fair treatment through their Grange organizations lead quite generally to the idea that all such endeavors would be equally fruitless and would fail to produce any lasting results.[21] Although the co-operative movement had failed to achieve the expected results, the experience in organization together with the growing realization of economic disadvantages gave impetus to another side of the movement, the political, which had by no means been dormant throughout the life of the organization although the organiza-

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[19] *United States Census of Agriculture*, 1870.

[20] For the farmer's attitude toward the rate situation, see the resolutions adopted at the annual meeting of the National Congress of Agriculture, 1873, in *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, p. 376.

[21] Buck, *The Granger Movement.*

tion by its constitution was prevented from expressing itself upon matters of politics. The presence of the strong political undercurrent among the members of the Granges was not slow to express itself and may be seen, to some extent at least, in the rise of the anti-monopoly parties in the states of the Middle West, especially in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota, the leading wheat-growing states, and the states in which the Grange movement had reached its height.[22] In these states there occurred simultaneously with the extension of the Grange organizations in 1872, 1873 and 1874 the rise of political parties under the name of Independent, Reform or Anti-Monopoly Parties. In eleven states (Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, California and Oregon) independent parties were organized. The purpose and character of these independent parties was indicated by the platforms they adopted, all of which had as their main plank some form of railroad regulation. In all the states, except Indiana and Michigan, the platforms contained planks demanding the subjection of corporations, especially railroad corporation to the control of the state and several states demanded regulation of all monopolies.[23] The movement was more than anti-monopoly or anti-railroad, however, for every platform adopted by every party in all the states denounced corruption in government and demanded reform, economy and reduction of taxation, and many of the platforms demanded specific Civil Service reforms. Thus the movement assumed a twofold aspect; it was both a revolt against the political corruption and extravagance of the existing government and a determined effort to bring the growing railroad monopoly under some form of governmental regulation.

The movement for a new party with railroad regulation as its main plank began in Illinois as early as 1865.[24]

Constitutional provisions of 1870 lead to the enactment of

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[22] Dunning, W. A., *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*, Ch. XIV, XVII. Buck, *The Granger Movement*, p. 101. Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, pp. 51–66. *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, 1874 and 1875—for texts of platforms adopted by the various parties.

[23] See maps by Solon J. Buck, *op. cit.*, showing membership in Granges by states, 1870–1875.

[24] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, p. 304.

the so-called "Granger Laws" in 1871, which were declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in 1873. This action caused rapid organization of the farmers. In the state judicial elections of 1873, the candidates favored by the farmers were elected in almost every instance,[25] and in the fall of the same year they participated with unanticipated success in the county elections. It was during these fall county campaigns in Illinois in 1873 that the first open declarations of absolute political independence were voiced by the farmers.[26] Anti-Monopoly tickets were successful in 53 out of 66 counties in Illinois at this time.[27]

In the same year there appeared independent parties in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, California and Ohio.[28] In the following year Indiana, Oregon, Michigan and Missouri were likewise invaded by the independents. The years 1873 and 1874 witnessed the high tide of farmer political organization in the states at this time. In 1875, the independents were active in only three states, California, Oregon and Minnesota. In Indiana and Illinois they took part in the formation of the National Greenback Party in 1875 and 1876. In Illinois, the Greenbacks and Independents were strong enough to hold the balance of power between the two old parties and to elect Judge David Davis to the United States Senate in 1876.[29]

These newly formed parties secured victories sometimes by uniting with the Democrats and forming a new party of opposition to the Republican Party, then the majority party, and sometimes by remaining independent, securing local victories and cutting down the vote in the two main parties. In Kansas, Nebraska, California, Indiana, Wisconsin and Oregon, the newly formed parties tended to remain independent, while in

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[25] Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, pp. 50–54.

[26] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, p. 54.
Cf., Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–87.

[27] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, p. 368.

[28] For organization and platforms adopted by the independent parties in the various states see, *American Annual Cyclopedia* as follows: *Nebraska*, 1873, p. 527; *California*, 1872, pp. 80–82; *Minnesota*, 1873, p. 510; *Wisconsin*, 1873, p. 776; *Iowa*, 1873, p. 380; *Kansas*, 1873, pp. 396–397; *Indiana*, 1873, p. 413; *Oregon*, 1873, p. 617; *Michigan*, 1874, p. 559; *Illinois*, 1874, p. 402; *Missouri*, 1874, p. 578.

[29] Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois and Iowa, they fused with the Democrats. In Missouri, where the Democratic Party was in power, the Independents united with the Republicans under the name of the People's Party.

In Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota independent and fusion candidates met with much success at the poles, particularly in state elections, in 1873. In Wisconsin, the entire fusion ticket for state officers of the Democrats and Independents was elected and the Senate of that year was composed of seven farmers and six lawyers, while the House boasted forty-two farmers and fourteen lawyers.[30] In Illinois and Iowa, where the Democrats fused with the Independents, the State Legislatures elected in 1873 showed considerable gains for the Democrats and Independents, while in 1874 the Independents and Demo-

TABLE XII

POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF STATE LEGISLATURES, 1873, 1874
ILLINOIS, IOWA, WISCONSIN, INDIANA, MINNESOTA

	1873		1874	
	SENATE	HOUSE	SENATE	HOUSE
Illinois:				
Republican	33	90	24	70
Democratic	18	63	24	56
Independent	..	..	3	27
Iowa:				
Republican	33	51	34	50
Democratic	13	49	6	6
Independent	4	2	10	43
Wisconsin:				
Republican	17	41	17	64
Democratic	14	43	15	35
Independent	2	3	1	1
Minnesota:				
Republican	27	53	21	54
Democratic	13	51	18	48
Independent	..	..	2	4
Indiana:				
Republican	..	..	22	60
Democratic	..	..	23	32
Independent	..	..	5	8

crats held the majority both in the Senate and in the House in Illinois and had materially cut down the majorities of the Republicans in both houses in Iowa. In Minnesota and Wisconsin, the reform forces were exceedingly strong in the House, while the Republican majority in the Senate of Wisconsin was cut down to one both in 1873 and 1874.

These Independent legislatures had been elected on tickets prescribing regulation of railroads, hence the chief work of the legislatures in these states during 1873 and 1874 was the framing and enacting of laws, providing for state regulation of transportation charges. Illinois and Minnesota had passed such laws in 1870 and 1871.[32] The Granger law in Minnesota was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in 1872,[33] and that of Illinois in January, 1873. On May 1, 1873, the Illinois Legislature passed a more stringent law,[34] and in 1874 Iowa[35] and Wisconsin[36] both passed laws equally severe. Several of these laws were contested in the courts upon constitutional grounds, but were sustained by the Supreme Court of the United States in the "Granger Cases,"[37] and the power of the states to regulate railroad charges was upheld.[38] However, before the decision of the Supreme Court sustaining the principle of the "Granger Laws" had been rendered, modification or repeal of many of the laws had already taken place.[39] The power of

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[32] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, p. 776.

[33] *Ibid.*, 1873: Wisconsin, p. 776; Illinois, p. 404; Iowa, p. 419; Wisconsin, p. 811; Minnesota, p. 564; Indiana, p. 415.

[34] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, p. 364.

[35] Case of Winona and St. Peter's Railway Co., *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873.

[36] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1873, p. 365.

[37] *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 416.

[38] *Ibid.*, 1874, p. 808.

(Case of Munn *vs.* Illinois, in 94 United States Report 113, and five other cases decided by the Supreme Court at the same time. See Noyes, *American Railroad Rates*, p. 206; also Buck, *op. cit.*, for discussion on this point. The Potter Law of Wisconsin, the most stringent of all the laws passed at this time was repealed after two years; in Iowa, the maximum rate law was superseded by a statute creating a commission with power to prescribe rates. Illinois also substituted a statute providing for a commission with power to prescribe rates, which statute with some modifications still exists. For extended discussion of these laws, see Noyes, *American Railroad Rates.*)

[39] For the state platforms of the Democratic and Republican Parties in the "Granger" States during the period of the Independent Anti-Monopoly Parties, see *American Annual Cyclopedia* for 1873 and 1874 under the name of the individual states.

[40] For Democratic platform of 1884, see McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, p. 206.

[41] For Republican National Platform 1884, see *Ibid.*, p. 212.

independent organizations to exercise political control had been demonstrated beyond a doubt even though much of the legislation passed at this time was later held to be premature and unwise. The ability of independent voters to force into the foreground economic issues which the two main parties were loath to recognize was equally well demonstrated both by the fact that the Democrats frequently accepted the entire platform of the Independents, while the Republicans, in those states where the fight was hottest, made great concessions to the farmers in their state platforms. In 1873, the Democratic and Republican Parties in four of the six states having well-organized independent parties, namely, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa,[40] adopted strong planks advocating railroad regulation, governmental reform and expressing much concern for the well-being of the farmer generally. In Minnesota and Iowa the Democrats fused with the Independents. Within the four states, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri, in which strong independent organizations arose in 1874, concessions were made by the majority party in the form of railroad, labor and farmer planks. The same year in Illinois and Michigan, where the Democrats fused with the Independents, the Republicans adopted rate regulation planks and general farmer prosperity clauses; in Indiana also, where the party remained independent, the Republicans adopted a strong rate regulation plank although the Democrats were less enthusiastic. In Missouri, where the Independents fused with the Republicans, the Democrats favored the control of railroads. In practically every instance where a strong opposition party was created within a state in favor of railroad rate regulation and farmer interests, the party in power, in an effort to maintain its control, was forced to insert

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[40] January 7, 1868, Mr. Davis moved in the Senate, that the Committee on Commerce be instructed to inquire as to the expediency of regulating railways which extended into two or more states, as to rate of fares, freight, etc. *Senate Journal, Second Session*, 40th Congress, p. 76. On March 3d and April 27th of the same year resolutions were introduced in the House to the effect that the Committee on Roads and Canals should inquire whether Congress had power to provide for the regulation of railroads extending through several states as to safety of passengers, uniform and equitable rates of fare for freight and transportation of property, proper connections with other roads as to the transportation of passengers and if, in the opinion of the committee Congress had power to report a bill which will secure the foregoing objects. *House Journal, Second Session*, 40th Congress, p. 640.

a plank or clause in its platform acknowledging the justice of the claims made by the radicals or reformers. This was a phenomenon peculiar to the Middle Western States, known to history as the Granger States, and in no other states in the Union did railroad rate regulation or farmer interest find a place in state campaign platforms of either party at this time.

It was not until 1884 that the campaign for governmental control of railroads and rate schedules which was started in 1873 and 1874 succeeded in placing the issue in the platforms of the National parties. In that year the Democrats inserted a mild clause favoring the prevention of monopoly and urging "a strict enforcement of individual rights" against corporate abuses,[41] while the Republicans openly endorsed "the public regulation of railway corporations" as a "wise and salutary measure" for the protection of all classes of the people.[42] This nationalization of the issue of railroad regulation which was so important to the economic interests of the Middle West during the 70's and 80's preceded by only three years the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887 designed to overcome some of the conditions which were particularly disadvantageous to the agricultural classes.

Although all the laws enacted by the states in 1873 and 1874 establishing maximum rates and rate commissions were later repeated or modified, still the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the "Granger Cases," namely, that the state had power to regulate rates because of the quasi-public character of the corporation and the public nature of its employment, was the first step toward the concentration of public opinion upon the subject of governmental control of railroad rates.

The question of the governmental control of railroads had arisen as early as 1868 and several resolutions were introduced in Congress for some action in that direction,[43] particularly as to the power of federal action under the Constitution. A report was presented to the House on June 9, 1868, to the effect that

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[41] James, *The Railroad Question* p. 32.
[42] McPherson, *A Handbook of Politics*,1873.

the Federal Government had power under the Constitution to regulate interstate commerce and in course of time would have to use it.[44] They recommended a committee to collect information looking toward governmental control, but no action was taken by Congress at this time. After 1870, however, the economic condition of the farmers brought the question of transportation rates into prominence and the Granger organizations throughout the country served to give publicity to the issue. The publicity and agitation, particularly in the Middle West and South together with the constant petitions which poured into Congress from various localities urging the establishment of a Department of Agriculture, revision of the patent laws, railway legislation, etc., brought the subject of the farmers' grievances against railroads to the attention of the political party in control. President Grant in his message to Congress in 1872 called the attention of Congress to the fact "that it will be called upon at its present session to consider various enterprises for the more certain and cheaper transportation of the constantly increasing Western and Southern products to the Atlantic seaboard."[45] Subsequently a committee of seven was appointed, December 16, 1872, to recommend steps toward regulation of rates. This committee, known as the Windom Committee, made its formal report in 1873.[46] The report emphasized the importance of cheap and ample railroad facilities, and claimed for Congress power to regulate interstate commerce. The chief emphasis of the report was upon the matter of rates and competition was urged as one of the greatest factors in the regulation of rates. The crisis of 1873 had served to center attention upon the absolute level of rates and to divert, temporarily, attention from matters of discrimination. To this end the committee recommended the opening of several competing lines of waterways. Other measures recommended were publicity of rates, prohibition of combinations, stock watering and a greater charge for a shorter haul over the same line, reforms

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[43] For a summary of the Windom Report, see James, *The Railroad Question*, p. 36. For text of the Windom Report, see *Senate Report on Transportation Routes to the Seaboard*, Vol. III, No. 307, First Session, 43d Congress, 1873.

[44] See *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1920.

in the shipment of grain and in the operation of freight lines and the establishment of a bureau of commerce. No action was taken on the report of the committee but it was the first adequate statement of the problem and of the power of the government and served to further direct public attention to the importance of the question and the need for the Federal Government to adopt some measures.

In the meantime the precipitation of the financial panic of 1873, the decline in the price of farm products, and the increasing percentage of the price required for transportation charge had given impetus to the formation of the independent parties in the Middle West and the passage of the Granger legislation which resulted in the establishment of State Commissions with rate-making power in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The successes gained by these independent parties forced many men in public life, as well as the leaders of the party in power to seek to meet the demands of the farmers. After 1873 there was a noticeable decline in freight rates over large portions of the railway system. The average freight rate for grain, per 100 pounds, all rail, from Chicago to New York decreased from 45 cents per 100 pounds in 1872 and 1873 to 23 cents per 100 pounds in 1879 and 1880.[47] The actual decrease in the freight rates at this time, together with the extension of the railways themselves so that competition and its benefits were actually enjoyed at competing points; the beginning of the period of prosperity in 1878 and 1879 with the rising purchasing power of the farmers through 1882, served to quiet the agitation for the time being although the question of governmental regulation was by no means settled. In 1878 the Reagen Bill, a forerunner of the Interstate Commerce Act, was introduced. From this time until 1886, many bills were introduced looking toward some interference by the Federal Government. The continual discussion which was taking place both inside and out of Congress gave such prominence to the question that it became for the first time a national issue in the presidential election of 1884. Both the Anti-Monopoly and the Greenback

[47] McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, pp. 201–231.

Parties inserted strong land-grant, railroad and anti-monopoly planks in their platform. The Greenback Party, which was a money reform party originally, demanded in 1884, Congressional regulation of Interstate Commerce, denounced "pooling," stock-watering and discrimination in rates and charges and demanded that Congress correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of national railroads. The Republican platform of the same year contained a clause to the effect that the Republican Party "distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over Interstate Commerce."[46] The Democratic platform, while not alluding to the question of railroad-rate regulation specifically advocated the "prevention of monopoly, and the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses."

A Senate committee was again appointed in March, 1885. The report of this committee, made January 18, 1886, while recognizing the benefits already derived from the railroads, added, "its recognized benefits have been attained at the cost of the most unwarranted discriminations and its effect has been to build up the strong at the expense of the weak, to give the large-scale dealer an advantage over the small trader, to make capital count for more than individual credit and enterprise, to concentrate business at great commercial centers, to necessitate combinations and aggregations of capital, to foster monopoly, to encourage the growth and extend the influence of corporate power, and to throw the control of commerce of the country more and more into the hands of the few."

Thus after 1880, the emphasis of the railroad discussion had been shifted from that of rates to the then more urgent aspects of discrimination and combinations, and the attention of public opinion during this period was concentrated upon reckless rail-

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[46] The Compromise Bill, the Interstate Commerce Act, passed the Senate by a vote of 34 to 15 and the House by a vote of 191 to 31. Despite this seeming large majority many efforts were made to postpone the passage on the ground that time enough had not been allowed "even though scarcely a week had passed in the twenty years preceding during which it had not been urged, in some manner, upon the attention of Congress."—James, *The Railroad Question.*

way administration rather than upon the actual level of freight rates. As a result of the report of this committee a law was finally passed in 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act. With the passage of this act, the Federal Government took the first step toward the solving of the transportation problem of the United States, a problem which had been urged upon the attention of the Federal Government since 1868. The long process by which this problem was forced upon the government is typical of the difficulty with which our institutionalized activity in the field of government yields to change. The economic maladjustments inherent in the peculiar railroad development in the United States were apparent before 1870. The protests directed to Congress and stated in the Grange constitutions between the years 1868 and 1873, raised discussion as to the powers of the Federal Government under the Constitution to regulate transportation. The passage of the Granger Laws in 1873 and 1874 drew the Supreme Court of the United States into the discussion, and they answered the question in the affirmative in the decisions handed down in the Granger Cases. With the constitutionality of federal regulation generally accepted there ensued the long struggle of forming an acceptable bill, and getting it adopted by a Congress which was elected largely by financial interests to whom regulation was unthinkable. This was made possible only when public opinion came to be directed to the widespread disadvantages under the existing system, and these disadvantages were generally recognized only when the number of people directly affected by the existing system had increased to be a majority, or at any rate an influential minority. When the latter stage is reached, the issue becomes a political one, and the existing organs of power are forced to accept it or run the risk of defeat.

V

Nationally Organized Expression of Political Discontent from 1872 to 1884

The Liberal Republican Movement

By 1870, the political party as an institution in American life had become firmly established and most all orthodox citizens were identified with one or the other of the prevailing political parties. No sooner, however, had the political party embarked upon its career as a formalized mode of political activity than there began to appear rumblings of discontent both from within the party in power and from without, as to its sins of ommission as well as those of commission. The failure of the political parties to keep their policies and platforms expanding to meet the ever-changing economic and social conditions in the United States has been the occasion for the rise of protest groups from time to time since 1864 urging measures of reform with varying degrees of success. Most notable among these have been the Granger movement and Anti-Monopoly Parties, discussed in the preceding chapter, which were widespread in the West during the years from 1870 to 1875, urging amelioration from economic ills through Civil Service reform and specific railroad legislation; the Greenback and Anti-Monopoly Parties from 1875 to 1884 urging relief from the same set of economic ills through currency reform; the Populist movement in 1892 which inherited the reforms of all the previous groups and made currency reform synonymous with free coinage of silver.

Before 1870 there had begun to develop dissatisfaction with the policies of the party in power and there were distinct traces of a sentiment for some kind of independent action. This movement to shake off party allegiance assumed a double aspect, a political and an economic one.

The economic side of the movement arose both in the West and in the East. However, although it enlisted many adherents

throughout the country, it was primarily a Western product. At this date, however, the economic discontent had not brought forth a national organization of distinctly political character. Although the Grange movement had perfected a national organization and although the members of the Grange were fairly definite in their political ideas, especially with regard to the railroad situation, still the National Grange as an organization was non-political in character. The political activities of its members were confined to state political affairs and the victories which they were able to gain were local. However, the local victories of these early farmer organizations as expressed in the state Anti-Monopoly Parties proved the effectiveness of organized opposition and the declarations of absolute political independence voiced from time to time by the farmers gave emphasis to the growing feeling that the interests of the people were not inseparably linked with either of the two existing parties.

The characteristics of the farmer movement in the various sections were largely dependent upon the agricultural conditions in those sections, while the relation of the movement to the general political situation was conditioned upon the effectiveness with which the farmers were organized and their relative strength of numbers in the various sections. In the West the farmers organized for the purpose of urging regulation of railroads and for co-operative buying and selling, and their movement became a permanent menace to the political stability of the traditional parties. In the East, the movement was directed against the excesses of protectionism and attracted men of independent minds from both parties.

The political side of the movement against party organization came from within the ranks of the party in power and the first great nationally organized political uprising with the purpose of thwarting and overcoming party machinery occurred on the occasion of the presidential election of 1872 with the candidature of Grant for re-election. The Liberal Republican movement was an effort upon the part of the reform element within the Republican Party to change the policy of the government with reference to Southern reconstruction and the general adminis-

tration of the government. This political aspect of the agitation appeared throughout the entire country, since it was primarily the result of a difference of opinion within the ranks of the Republican Party on one or two issues and the Republican Party at this time practically dominated the country. The Liberal movement was launched upon the issues of the tariff, civil service reform, and Southern reconstruction. Their hope of success was to defeat the renomination of General Grant for President. Unfortunately for the anti-Grant movement, it was unable to find a candidate who could unite all the opposition elements in the party. Greely, the candidate finally chosen, was not thoroughly satisfactory to any of the reform elements of the new movement and the failure of the Democratic-Liberal coalition at this time was due as much to this fact as to any cause.

This movement in its inception had been one of genuine reform. Its leaders were of the highest caliber as is evidenced by the men who joined its ranks,[1] and became promoters in the various states, but early in its history it attracted politicians and office seekers who sought to exploit it for their own ends and who brought discredit upon the whole movement. It had been launched on the issues of the tariff, civil service reform, and Southern reconstruction, but it soon became evident that these measures which had been of foremost consideration to the originators would be largely subordinated. In fact, the nomination of Greely who was a known protectionist had largely destroyed the influence of that issue, and his known political associations rendered him a feeble exponent of the civil service reform.

In the election Grant received the electoral vote of all but six states,[2] and a popular majority of 750,000 votes. Greely carried no Northern State and but six of the border and Southern States. The Southern States, Virginia, West Virginia, Arkansas, and Alabama, all of which had voted a coalition ticket in state elections went for the Republican National ticket. Maryland remained Liberal by less than a 1,000 votes (925), while Dela-

[1] Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, pp. 62–66.

[2] Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas, Greely electors. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 427.

ware was lost to the Republicans by about the same number (910).[3] New Jersey went Republican for the first time, and New Hampshire, Greely's native state, cast a majority of 5,743 for the Republicans while New York and Pennsylvania, which had both been claimed for the coalitionists went to Grant by a majority of 53,480 and 137,548, respectively.

There are many explanations offered for the defeat of the reform movement at this time. The chief among them are, (1) the lack of organization among the coalitionists and the effectiveness of the party machine of the Republicans.[4] (2) The financial support given the Republicans by the federal office holders and the "interests" of the country.[5] (3) The impossibility of reconciling the rank-and-file of Democratic votes to the candidacy of Horace Greely. From the election returns it seems very probable that the last-named cause was the decisive one in bringing about the defeat of the coalition ticket. In the last analysis the movement had been organized into a party of leaders rather than of the people. The Democratic leaders had, for the most part, faithfully kept their coalition compact, but the rank-and-file of Democrats felt no such obligation. "A comparison of the returns of this with previous elections shows conclusively that large numbers of Democrats refrained from voting the National ticket. In the states voting both in 1868 and 1872 (excluding Virginia, Florida, Mississippi, and Texas) the Republican vote in the latter year increased 343,000 while the coalition vote decreased from that of the Democrats by 90,000."

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[3] McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, p. 159.

[4] "Party machinery was more highly developed than it had ever been in the past." Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

"The coalitionists were constantly urged to organize. In the midst of the canvass one of the speakers wrote, 'Never knew so good a cause so badly handled.' *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[5] Grant and the Republicans were in good repute with the captains of Wall Street. Henry Clews, William E. Dodge, and other New York capitalists had been largely responsible for the mass meeting called in April to endorse the administration. Rhodes, *History*, VI, 383 f. Ex-Senator E. D. Morgan, a prominent financier and a cousin of J. P. Morgan of Drexel, Morgan and Co., was the national chairman and William E. Chandler, a successful collector of campaign funds in the past was Secretary. The firm of Jay Cooke was by far the largest contributor. The previous year Cooke's syndicate had secured a government loan, and was negotiating for another during the campaign. He was also in the midst of the Northern Pacific project for which the aid of the administration and Congress was essential. Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, p. 186; also many other examples that lend credence to this explanation.

After the defeat of 1872 the Liberal national organization had only a nominal national existence and in some sections the party ceased to have a distinct local organization. Discouraged by their failure and further incensed by the scandals of Grant's second term they decided to give up the idea of forming an independent party and to join forces with that party which should bring forth better candidates and measures than the other. The candidature of Hayes and Tilden in 1876 met with their approval and they remained in the background, and Allen, Chairman of the National Committee, stated in a letter to the *New York Tribune* of July 21, 1876, that "Hayes and Wheeler should be endorsed in the name of the Liberal Republicans of America." He also stated that the opposition had never been against the Republican Party of which they were a part, but rather against those who had control of its destiny.

The activities of the Liberal Party in the various sections of the country after the defeat of 1872 show clearly the influence of the various sectional interests of the time. In the South there had been little or no district Liberal organization and what there was soon merged with one or the other of the old parties. "The movement so far as that section was concerned was but one phase in the consolidation of all the conservative elements in support of the Democratic Party."[6] Although the independent Liberal movement had not arisen primarily in response to economic demands it was forced in the extension of its program to recognize some of them and in the West, where agrarian and anti-monopoly agitations resulted in the formation of independent parties during 1873–1876, the promoters of the new reform parties were in a large number of cases the same men who had been active in organizing the initial bolt from the Republican Party in their state.[7] Practically all the independent parties in this section achieved their results through co-operation with the Democratic Party, which fact contributed decidedly to the betterment of the Democratic Party. Thus, in the West the Liberal movement to some

[6] Cf., Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[7] For the influence and activity of the Liberals in the Granger States, see Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement*, pp. 205–217.

degree, became a part of the expression of the economic discontent of that section. In the East, however, with the withdrawal of a large portion of the reform element, the movement became one of scheming politicians who used it to secure favors from one or the other of the old parties.[8] New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts maintained state organizations where they acted with the Democrats very effectively, particularly in Connecticut where the forces were rather evenly divided.[9]

Although the Middle Western States were looking for amelioration from economic difficulties they apparently had no confidence in the weak proposals of the independents. In 1872, the combined Liberal and Democratic tickets in Iowa, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan received fewer votes than the Democrats had received in 1868, while Ohio and Minnesota showed about an equal increase in votes in both parties.

After 1876 the Liberal Republicans did not attempt to influence politics in any organized way. The real purposes of their original organization had been accomplished when Hayes was elected for he was a reformer in spirit and his policy toward the South was that which would have appeased the Missouri Liberals in 1870. That the purpose of the Liberals had been reform within the party and an effort to maintain party morals by careful selection of administratives is evidenced by their activities in the presidential nomination conventions of 1880 when their efforts defeated the nomination of both Grant and J. G. Blaine and nominated Garfield, and in 1884 when they formally bolted from the Republican Party and rallied to the support of the Democrats and elected Grover Cleveland. The political activities on both the political and the economic side, that is, the activities of the independent farmers and the independent Republicans were both in the direction of amalgamation with the minority party. That the Independents should rely upon one of the existing parties to carry their reform platform to success was an unconscious recognition, on the part

[8] This was especially true in New York where the Liberals clearly held the balance of power between the old parties and maintained a state organization. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[9] The Liberal members in the Legislature acted with the Democrats and one of them was chosen Speaker in 1875, and in 1874 the Legislature had chosen a Liberal for judge of the Superior Court.

of the reform element, of the binding power of party and of the hopelessness of their task without the aid of one or the other of the already established organizations into which people are born and to which they adhere with patriotic fervor. The party with which they united was not necessarily a matter of choice but rather a matter of expediency and depended largely upon the relative strength of the two parties in any given area and the prospects of defeating the one by an alliance with the other. Thus, the alliance between the Democrats and the Independents during this period was largely the result of the weakened condition of the Democratic Party after the Civil War and the overwhelming strength and influence of the Republicans. The effect of the Democratic and Liberal coalition throughout the country was advantageous to the Democratic Party in that it served to bring forward-looking issues to the attention of that party. The acceptance by the Democratic Party of these issues had much to do with its reconstruction and with placing it in the field as an active competitor of the Republicans.

The Greenback Party

The business depression of 1873 served to focus the attention of the country upon another issue which had been looming large in the background of American politics, but which neither of the parties had definitely attempted to assume. The question of the monetary system, particularly with reference to the retirement of the greenbacks issued during the war had called forth much discussion since 1868 when George H. Pendleton, candidate for the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party, advocated paying the principle of the government bonds in greenbacks instead of in coin, and the idea received enthusiastic support from the convention.[10] On the whole, both parties were strongly inclined toward hard money and advocated return to specie payment as soon as possible. President Grant's veto of the Inflation Bill in 1874 and the passage of the Resumption Act in 1875 providing for a return to specie payment on

[10] Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, p. 105.

January 1, 1879, practically committed the Republican Party to that policy. There were elements in the population, however, in both the East and the West, who believed they saw in the contemplated contraction of the currency through the retirement of the greenbacks further disadvantage to themselves. The labor groups of the East and some of the agriculturalists of the West believed their economic difficulties to be partially due to the shortage of money in the country and that the disadvantage to them of the further contraction of the currency would be great.

After the sub idence of the independent Anti-Monopoly parties in the Middle Western States in 1873 and 1874, there emerged for the first time a national party, the Greenback Party, urging a particular reform to ameliorate economic conditions. The leaders of the new party believed the economic difficulties of the country to lie in the monetary system of the United States and their party was launched on a purely money platform. The new party was formed by the amalgamation of the Labor Reform Party of the East, with the independent Anti-Monopoly Parties of Indiana and Illinois and with the inflationist element of the West. Notwithstanding the fact that most of the Anti-Monopoly parties formed in the West had been in favor of hard money and had urged a return to specie payment in their platforms, Illinois and Indiana had decided traces of a policy toward further inflation. Democratic platforms adopted in these states in 1870 inclined toward "soft money" although the National Democratic Party had never committed itself to that policy.[11]

While the Anti-Monopoly movement was taking the form of the "Granger Legislation" so-called in the West, it was developing simultaneously, though in a slightly different direction, in the East, and took the form of labor reform parties. The Labor Reform Party had been operating in the East, especially in the older sections where industry had been developed to a considerable extent, for a number of years. The National Labor Congress had been meeting since 1865. In 1870, the platform adopted at the Cincinnati Labor Congress declared

[11] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1870, p. 403.

that the laboring class was "suffering from a system of monetary laws which, enacted during the war, were now to be perpetuated in the interest of the bond-holders and bankers as a means to subvert the government of our fathers and establish on its ruin an empire in which all political power shall be centralized to restrain and oppress the right of labor and subordinate its voteries to the merciless demands of aggregated capital."[12] In the same year, strong labor organizations developed in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The platforms of both these state Labor Parties contained money planks. The Massachusetts party opposed all schemes of repudiation and demanded the speedy payment of the national debt. Bank notes should be retired and legal tender government notes, "the best and safest currency the government ever had," should be substituted.[13] The New Hampshire party also denounced repudiation. They demanded revision of the taxation system, opposed national banks and declared "greenbacks were the best paper currency we ever had," and demanded their substitution for bank notes.[14] In the same year the Republican Party of Massachusetts declared that "the Republican Party hears with surprise and indignation the claim of any other organization to arrogate to itself the claim of Labor Party. . . . The Republican Party in the last ten years has accomplished more for the elevation of the laborers of America than had been accomplished before since the government was formed." As a result of the Labor Party agitation in New Hampshire, both the Democratic and Republican Parties inserted labor planks in their state platforms at this time.

In 1871, the National Labor Congress adopted a platform upon which it proposed to appear before the country in 1872 as a distinct political party. Labor was described as being in practically the same condition of the slave before his emancipation and the reason for such enslavement was to be found in the growth of all kinds of monopolies, particularly banking and moneyed monopolies, which were "the great central source

[12] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1870, pp. 731–732.
[13] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1870, pp. 473–477.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 526–539.

of these wrongs through which all other monopolies exist and operate." Railroad, land, commercial, grain and all other forms of monopoly were declared to be sources of danger to the laboring man. The chief remedy proposed for overcoming these evils was in the "establishment of a monetary system in harmony with the genius of the government and adapted to the exigencies of legitimate commerce," together with "the creation of a board of management of the currency and revenue which shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the collection and disbursement of the revenue and the regulation of the currency."[15]

In February, 1872, the first national convention of the National Labor Reform Party met at Columbus, Ohio. The convention was composed of representatives of the trade unions and of dissatisfied members of the old parties. Delegates from seventeen states were present, among them Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri. The convention adopted a platform of seventeen planks with a money plank urging "a purely national circulating medium based on the faith and resources of the nation and issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts public and private and interchangeable at the option of the holder for government bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.65 per cent, subject to future legislation of Congress."

The other planks in the platform were a combination of those being urged by the Liberal Republicans and the various Granger organizations over the country, with the addition of a few concerning labor in general. The ones urging the policies of the Granges were: (1) Against granting public domain to corporations; (2) government regulation of railroad and telegraph rates; (3) reform in Civil Service; (4) supervision of patent laws by Congress. Those which were being advocated by the Liberal Republicans were: (1) Revision of the tariff;

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[15] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1871, p. 751–752. Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

(2) reform in Civil Service; (3) the choosing of public officials because of fitness for the office and not from political or personal considerations. In addition there were labor planks urging: (1) Non-importation of Chinese labor; (2) conformance to the eight-hour-day labor law recently adopted by Congress; (3) abolition of contract labor in prisons; (4) the limiting of the presidential term to one year.[16] On this platform David Davis, of Illinois, was nominated for president and Joel Parker, of New Jersey, for vice-president. Both candidates declined the nomination four months later and a second convention, poorly attended, nominated Charles O'Conor, of New York.

During 1872, 1873 and 1874 labor organizations were active in state political affairs in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania.[17] Currency reform was the chief means advocated by these labor reform groups for meeting the economic difficulties of the country in general and the laborer in particular.

The movement for launching an independent party in favor of currency reform began in November, 1874, when a National Independent Party was formed at Indianapolis, Ind., in response to a call of the state Independent Party which was composed largely of farmers who had been active for the past few years in the Granger, Anti-Monopoly and Liberal Republican movements. The delegates attending from New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Kentucky and Indiana perfected plans for a nominating convention to be held at Cleveland in 1875 for candidates at the national election of 1876, on a currency platform. Considerable attention was given to the interests of labor and one evening session was devoted to speeches on labor reform. During the same year there was much agitation for co-operation between the labor and the farmer groups. The Massachusetts Labor Reformers at their convention in 1875 adopted a resolution inviting delegates of all labor organizations throughout the country to meet in Philadelphia on July 3, 1876, "to confer together on the state

[16] McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, pp. 153–156. MacPherson, *A Handbook of Politics*, 1872, p. 211.

[17] Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, pp. 100–104; see also Buck, *The Granger Movement*.

of the nation, especially with reference to national industry and to devise such means as shall be adequate for securing justice to all classes of citizens."[18] In March, 1875, an Anti-Monopoly convention held in Philadelphia made plans for a meeting of workingmen and farmers at Cincinnati in September. The September convention was poorly attended but resolutions demanding the repeal of the Resumption Act of 1875 and of the National Banking Law, and that the government supply paper money directly, were adopted. They also appointed a committee to act with the National Executive Committee of the Greenback Independent Party appointed by the Cleveland convention.[19]

The first nominating convention of the National Greenback Party met in Indianapolis, Ind., May 17, 1876. Two hundred thirty-nine delegates representing nineteen states were present. Peter Cooper, of New York, was nominated for president. The new party, in the introduction to its platform, gave as its reason for coming into existence, "the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic Parties refused to change." They further stated that both parties had failed "to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people," and they invited all "independent and patriotic men" to join their ranks in a movement for "financial reform and industrial emancipation."[20] The platform adopted was purely a money platform, which demanded the "unconditional repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of 1875" and urged the election of men who would regard the wishes of the people in this respect, and "stop the present suicidal and destructive policy of contraction." As a means of meeting the economic and financial difficulties of the country they proposed, "a United States note, issued directly by the government, bearing a rate of interest not exceeding one cent a day on each one hundred dollars, and exchangeable

[18] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1875, p. 479.
[19] Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, p. 110.
[20] McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, p. 174.

for United States notes at par, such United States notes to be full legal tender except for the payment of such obligations as are, by existing contracts, especially made payable in coin."[21]

In 1876, Greenback Parties were active in several of the states, notably Connecticut and New York where the Greenbacks sent delegates to the National Democratic Party as representing the Democrats of these states. In Illinois, five Greenback Senators were elected and were able to hold the balance of power in the Senate to the extent that they were able to cause the election of Judge David Davis to the United States Senate in 1877.[22]

The results of the national election of 1876, however, show clearly that the Greenback Party as an independent organization had failed to command an extensive following. Peter Cooper, their candidate for the presidency, received a total vote of only 81,740 out of 8,500,000 votes cast. Despite the formal co-operation of the farmer Greenbackers of the West and the labor Greenbackers of the East, the strength of the organization was in the Middle West and West, where 80 per cent of the total vote for the party was cast. Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Michigan, the greatest wheat-producing states in the country at that time, and the states in which the Granger movement has reached its highest development, were also the main contributors to this movement: Illinois with 17,233 votes; Indiana with 9,533; Iowa with 9,001, and Michigan with 9,060. The New England States contributed barely 2 per cent of the vote in the party and Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire, where strong state labor organizations with soft money ideas had prevailed, cast only 779,774 and 76 votes respectively, for Greenbackism. New York cast 1,987 votes, and Pennsylvania 7,187 for Cooper. In the South only Arkansas and Kentucky appeared in the ranks of the Greenback Party.

The total number of votes cast for the party in 1876, however, is by no means an adequate measure of the influence which the agitators had exerted upon political life. The real significance

[21] McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
[22] Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

of the movement is to be seen in the reaction of the Democratic and Republican Parties to liberal influence. For eight years prior to the appearance of the National Greenback Party continual agitation of one kind or another had been carried on by the farmers and laborers in an effort to obtain relief from economic difficulties which confronted them, and for the same length of time both parties had successfully evaded the pressing issues of the time and had clung to traditional campaign issues. The Republican Party in 1876 were still calling into prominence Southern reconstruction and the tariff and boasting of the past success of the party and of the prosperity of the country under Republican control. However, as a result of the continued agitations of the liberal element within the party, and of the extensive organization of various independent parties threatening their supremacy in the states, they nominated a candidate for president with a view to conciliating the reformers of their own party and of placating those of their party who had gone into the ranks of the independent organization. Hayes was an advocate of reform and known to have ideas upon the currency question. The Democratic Party, too, having been forced to see the trend of the times, saw concession to the issues urged by the reform element to be a stepping stone to power. Consequently Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, were nominated for president and vice-president in 1876, on a purely reform platform in which the Republican Party was denounced as having "failed to establish a sound currency and to make good the legal tender notes which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people." They also denounced "as financial imbecility and immorality," the failure of the Republicans during their eleven years of administration to advance toward resumption of specie payment, and accused them, in spite of their acts and avowals, of having made no preparation for resumption but of having obstructed resumption instead by their wasteful use of resources and the exhaustion of surplus income. They urged reform in public expenditures, in the use of public lands, in the tariff policy, in the Civil Service and in the higher grades of public service. After naming a long list of public officials found guilty in offices

they concluded with the statement, "All these abuses, wrong, and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican Party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters are powerless to resist the 80,000 office-holders, its leaders and guides."[23]

Thus, the Democratic Party, having assumed the cause of reform as advocated by the Liberal Republicans in 1872 and having denounced the financial policy of the Republicans, although formulating no definite one of their own and leaning strongly toward sound money, were able to draw into their ranks many of the liberals from both groups. The results of the election showed material gains for the Democratic Party, Tilden having been elected by popular vote, although later, because of the electoral count, Hayes was seated. The reform platform of the Democrats gave them a majority vote in 17 of the 30 states making returns, including New York and Connecticut of the Eastern group and Indiana of the Middle Western group, while the Democratic vote in all the Middle Western States was greatly increased over the vote in 1872.[24]

Although the success of the Greenback Party as a separate organization was apparently slight in 1876 the party remained in the field nevertheless, and the continued financial depression in 1877 and the low purchasing power of agricultural products together with the extended railroad strikes in 1877 in West Virginia, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri, the dissatisfaction with the results of the disputed presidential election, and the difficulties due to the contractions of Greenbacks, coinage of silver and resumption of specie served to arouse the people to the need of some kind of drastic action. In 1877, indications of co-operation between the Greenback and the Labor Reform Parties began to appear. In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio the two state organizations began to co-

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[23] McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[24] Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, p. 331. McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

operate and in February, 1878, in a meeting at Toledo, Ohio, an alliance was completed between the National Greenback and the National Labor Party. The platform adopted was, as to money, substantially the same as that of 1876. In addition there were planks advocating reform measures already stated by previous organizations. There was a strong labor plank, an anti-land grant plank, an anti-monopoly plank, a railroad regulation plank, and a graduated income tax proposal. The elections in the states during 1878 showed a rapid increase in the voting strength of the party and the states contributing most largely to the increased vote were in the order of size of vote cast:[25]

In the West				In the East	
Iowa	1	Ohio	11	Massachusetts	2
Michigan	5	Wisconsin	12	Pennsylvania	3
Missouri	6	Kansas	13	New York	4
Illinois	7	Minnesota	14	Maine	8
Indiana	9	Nebraska	15	New Jersey	15
California	10				

The growing strength of the Greenback Party was indicated in local, state and Congressional elections in 1878. In the Congressional elections of that year, fourteen representatives were from the Greenback Party, three from Pennsylvania, two each from Iowa, Illinois and Maine, and one each from Indiana, Mississippi, Texas, North Carolina and Alabama.[26] In Massachusetts, General B. F. Butler was nominated for governor on the Greenback and Democratic ticket, and large votes were cast for Greenback gubernatorial candidates in Maine, Iowa, California, Pennsylvania, New York, Kentucky and Wisconsin.[27]

The National Platform adopted at the Chicago convention in 1880 contained the usual Greenback planks on money, banking and financial matters in general and in addition it came out strongly for the reforms urged in times past by the agrarian organizations, in fact, many of them were almost exact copies

[25] Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, p. 125.

[26] *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, First Session, March 18 and May 13, 1879, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 5. Cited by Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[27] *American Annual Cyclopedia*, 1878.

of the Anti-Monopoly State Platforms.[28] They declared it to be "a duty of Congress to regulate interstate commerce," and advocated that "all lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as to secure moderate, fair and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic." They denounced "as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad and money corporations and monopolies invested with and exercising power belonging to the government and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise." They re-urged a graduated income tax and denounced "every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people."[29] General Weaver, the candidate nominated by the convention for president, in his letter of acceptance spoke in one breath of the money problem and the transportation problem. Said he, "The great problem of civilization is how to bring the consumer and the producer together. This can only be done by providing an adequate circulating medium and by rigid regulation of interstate commerce and transportation."[30]

The returns of the campaign of 1880 showed a tremendous advance for the Greenback Party, the vote having risen from 80,000 in 1876 to 308,578 in 1880, which was, however, barely 3 per cent of the total vote cast. Votes were cast in 35 out of 38 states. The stronghold of the party was still in the Middle West and in the West where economic conditions had continued such as to make further inflation of the currency a popular policy. Despite the formal amalgamation of the Labor Party of the East with the Greenback Party of the West, the total vote in the East for Greenbackism was still less than 15 per cent of the total vote cast. Considerable gain had been made, however, in the South, for whereas only three states had cast Greenback votes in 1876, the party had a following in all but two states, Florida and Virginia, in 1880, and the section as a whole cast 30 per cent of the total vote of the party.

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[28] McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[30] MacPherson, *A Handbook of Politics*, 1880.

After the election of 1880, a struggle developed within the ranks of the party as to whether they should remain independent or fuse with one of the old parties. The futility of a new party to supplant one of the old ones, in spite of the gains that had been made, seemed apparent and a large element in the party drifted back to their former affiliations. Apparently many of these independents went into the Democratic Party. The impetus given to the Democratic Party in 1876 by the nominal acceptance of liberal ideas was continued through 1880, despite the fact that the Republican administration under Hayes had advanced the cause of Civil Service reform and had promoted conciliation between the North and the South and had helped to elect Garfield and Arthur in 1880.[31] There was a noticeable revival of Democratic influence in the elections of 1882. In that year, there were twenty-four Democratic governors out of 38 states. Of the 15 state elections of the year, thirteen Democratic governors were elected in the following states: California, Colorado, Kansas, Michigan, Nevada, Texas, Tennessee, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New York, Massachusetts, Delaware, Connecticut.[32] The Congressional elections resulted in a Democratic majority in the House,[33] and in 1884 a Democratic president was elected.

By 1884, the strength of the party as an independent influence was dissipated and although a union was formed between the Anti-Monopoly Party,[34] which held its convention in Chicago, May, 1884, and the National Greenback Party, the vote in the election of 1884 was little more than half that of 1880. The significant turn, from the point of view of future political events, of the campaign of 1884, was that given to the course of the independent parties by the proposal of General Butler, their candidate for the presidency, when he advocated, in his letter accepting the nomination of the Anti-Monopoly-Greenback convention, the consolidation of all the elements of discontent

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[31] Woodburn, *Political Parties and Platforms in the United States*, p. 117.

[32] Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[33] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1882, p. 809.

[34] MacPherson, *A Handbook of Politics*, 1884, p. 2

into a "People's Party" and advised fusion with the minority party whenever there was a chance of gaining anything.[35]

The Greenback Party, in spite of its apparent failure in national elections did not fail to leave some permanent results in the way of legislation. Among the victories gained was the stopping of the contraction of the currency provided for by the Resumption Bill of 1875 and the repeal of the cancellation of notes which was authorized by the Resumption Act,[36] and the fostering of silver sentiment sufficient to pass the Silver-Purchase Act of July 25, 1876, over the veto of the President. The effect of the passage of the Bland Act and the repeal of the cancellation of notes which was authorized by the Resumption Act, was to give to the Greenback element a large part of their demand, namely, an increased circulating medium. The coinage of silver, the issuance of silver certificates and the retention of the greenbacks already in circulation all participated in the realization of the demands of the reformer groups.[37] A free coinage of silver bill was defeated in the House by a vote of one in 1886.

The influence of the independent agitations of this period upon the political policies of the two main parties was of a roundabout nature and consisted primarily in the rehabilitation of the Democratic Party and the placing of that party in the national field in 1876 and 1884 as a dangerous competitor of the party in power whose authority had not been successfully challenged for a period of twenty-eight years, since its appearance as a National Party in 1856. The prestige which the Republican Party had enjoyed since the Civil War and the complacency

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[35] MacPherson, *op. cit.*, 1884, p. 229–239.

[36] In 1874, 1878 and 1880, due to the agitation of the inflationist element, and the tendency of the Democratic Party to be more responsive to their demands than the Republicans, there were strong Democratic revivals which resulted in the election of a Democratic Congress. The passage of the Resumption Bill was hastened through after it was known that the election of 1874 had resulted in Democratic elections, and in 1878, the Silver Purchase Act (Bland Act) providing for the unlimited coinage of silver was passed. The Act for Unlimited Coinage passed the house by a vote of 163 to 34; the volume of coinage was limited by the Senate and the bill passed by a vote of 48 to 21. It was vetoed by President Hayes but the silver sentiment was strong enough in both houses to pass it over his veto. The Bland-Allison Act continued in operation until 1890 and under it 378,000,000 silver dollars were coined. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, p. 406.

[37] For the financial results of these acts, see *Ibid.*, pp. 407, 412.

of attitude expressed by its leaders was largely the result of its unchallenged supremacy. Did not the institutionalized activity of individuals have such binding power in directing their future activity the Republican Party could not have counted with such success upon its past achievements in the presence of all the newly developing maladjustments which it refused to heed. The statement in the Democratic Platform of 1884 to the effect that "The Republican Party, so far as platform is concerned, is a reminiscence," was indeed true.

The reappearance of the Democratic Party upon the field as a formidable rival gave the independent element an opportunity to hold the balance of power between the two parties and thus to force their issues upon one or the other of the parties. The Democratic Party during its twenty years of alignment with first one movement and then another had learned the value of co-operation and had, almost without intention, absorbed much of the atmosphere of the reform groups. Although during this first period of agitation the reform groups had succeeded in gaining a few verbal concessions, at least in the form of anti-monopoly, anti-land grant, railroad regulation, Civil Service reform and labor planks in the platforms of both parties, and had seen the beginning of an attempt on the part of the government to regulate railroads and to practice Civil Service reform, their greatest achievement had been the revival of the Democratic Party with its predisposition in favor of the agriculturalists and laborers.

VI

Nationally Organized Expression of Political Discontent, 1884–1896

The People's Party

The period from 1880 to 1890 saw only two nationally organized parties in the field, the Anti-Monopoly Party of 1884, which we have seen to be a union of the Greenback labor forces of the West and East with the Anti-Monopoly element of both East and West, and the Union Labor Party in 1888. After 1886 labor agitations were prevalent in the industrial states and two labor parties flourished, the United Labor Party and the Union Labor Party. An unsuccessful effort was made to unite the two in 1888. In the election of 1888 the Union Labor Party received 146,934 votes.[1] The strength of this movement, though avowedly a Labor Party and with its leaders in the East, was nevertheless in the Middle West, West and South. The Middle Western and Western States cast 97,236 of the total vote, the Southern States 40,333, the Middle Atlantic States 6,011, and the New England States 1,627. The states casting more than 5,000 votes were: Kansas, 37,726; Missouri, 18,632; Iowa, 9,105; Wisconsin, 8,552; Illinois, 7,090; Texas, 29,459, and Arkansas, 10,613. It appears that the Union Labor Party of 1888 was substantially the Greenback-Labor Party of 1884. The party was active in state elections in 1888 in Colorado, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, and Wisconsin in the West, while in the East, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania had labor party organizations.[2]

While the inflationist element of the West were busy organizing the Greenback Party the agrarian agitation of the earlier period

[1] For vote cast, see MacPherson, *A Handbook of Politics for 1890*, p. 273. McKee, *op. cit.* p. 257.

[2] Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

was reappearing in the development of a new series of state and local organizations in the form of clubs, known as farmers' alliances, with strongholds throughout the South and West. These clubs were fostered by the increasing economic depression among agriculturalists. As has already been pointed out in Chapter IV, during the period of declining prices, farm prices were relatively lower than those of other commodities. The price of wheat at Chicago steadily declined from $1.07 per bushel in 1880 to 56 cents per bushel in 1894; the price of corn from 66 cents per bushel in 1882 to 25 cents in 1896; the price of cotton from 11 cents per pound in 1880 to 7 cents in 1896, and 5 cents in 1897. During the whole of the period from 1880 to 1896 there was a constant downward tendency in the price level of all commodities (see Chart VI), and during the entire period the price index for farm products, with the exception of one year, 1891, was consistently lower than that of all commodities, so that during this period of sixteen years the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar was normal only once. Not only was the purchasing power of farm products less than 100 per cent, but it was consistently lower than the purchasing power of other groups of commodities which farmers had to purchase, notably cloths and clothing, house furnishings, and drugs and chemicals all of which had a purchasing power above 100 per cent throughout the entire period (see Chart VII). There was a temporary recovery in the purchasing power of wheat in 1889, 1890 and 1891, and in cotton in 1889 and 1890 though even then the purchasing power of cotton was only 94 and 92 cents on the dollar respectively, while the purchasing power of corn during the same years was materially decreased.

That this slight gain in prices for a few years had failed to materially relieve the economic distress of the farmers is seen in the percentage of owned farms which were mortgaged in 1890, in the various sections of the country, particularly in the West (see Table XIII). The states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan, the four states of the Middle West which were most active in all the independent organizations, had a large number of tenant farmers in 1890, particularly Illinois, where 34 per cent of all the farms were operated by tenants. This

TABLE XIII

THE PERCENTAGE OF OWNED FARMS MORTGAGED AND THE PERCENTAGE OPERATED BY TENANTS—BY STATES AND BY DIVISIONS, 1890

STATE	OPERATED BY TENANTS	MORTGAGED	STATE	OPERATED BY TENANTS	MORTGAGED
New England:			West. (*Contd*):		
Maine	5.4	22	Wyoming	4	13
N. H	8.0	22	Idaho	5	16
Conn	11.5	31	Ariz	8	7
Mass	9.0	31	Wash	9	27
Vt	14.6	44	Ore	13	23
R. I	18.7	19	Calif	18	33
Middle Atl.:			Colo	11	26
N. Y	20.0	44	Kans	28	56
N. J	27.0	49	Neb	25	52
Penna	23.0	27	N. D	7	49
Del	47.0	29	S. D	13	52
Md	31.0	30	Southern		
Middle West			Florida	24	3
Ohio	23.0	29	Va	27	3
Ind	25.0	33	Mo	27	36
Ill	34.0	37	Ky	25	4
Iowa	28.0	53	Tenn	31	5
Mich	14.0	50	N. C	34	3
Wisc	11.0	43	Ark	32	4
Minn	13,0	45	Tex	42	3
Western:			La	44	4
Nev	8.0	17	Ala	49	4
Utah	5.0	6	S. C	50	8
Mont	5.0	16	Miss	66	8
N. M	5.0	3	Ga	67	3

meant a class of farmers who were marginal farmers, so to speak, and to whom any material reduction in the price of products meant financial indebtedness for the following year. In addition to that, a very large percentage of the farmers who owned their farms, had them heavily covered with mortgages. In Indiana 33 per cent of the owned farms were mortgaged; in Illinois, 37 per cent; in Michigan, 50 per cent, and in Iowa, 53 per cent. In Minnesota and Wisconsin where there was only 13 and 11 per cent tenancy respectively, 46 and 43 per cent of owned farms were mortgaged. In all the states of the South there was a very high percentage of tenancy. In 1890, 50 per cent of owned farms were mortgaged in South Carolina; 66 per cent in Mississippi, and 67 per cent in Georgia. This

meant that the farming class of the South was, on the whole, less prosperous than that of the Middle West, and that a very large percentage of farmers in the South were no-profit producers. In the New England and Middle Atlantic States, where the agricultural population was only 17.6 per cent of the total population in 1890, and where the percentage of tenancy in all the states except Delaware and Maryland was relatively small, the financial condition of the farmers although bad in Vermont, New Jersey, and New York, was, on the whole, less disturbing than that of either the Middle West or the South. Almost as soon as the reaction from the unsuccessful Grange organization had subsided there appeared other farmer organizations throughout the entire South and West to take their place. The movement toward organization in the South began in 1878 when a Grand State Alliance, composed of local farmers' clubs which had started in 1874 and 1875, was effected in Texas. The Declaration of Purpose adopted by the Texas State Alliance in 1880 was almost a paraphrase of the declaration adopted by the National Grange at the St. Louis meeting in 1874.[3] By 1886 there were 3,000 local lodges in the state. Like the Granges the social and co-operative features were the chief aspect of the order. In 1887 the constitution of the State Alliance was amended to include a declaration that it was the purpose of the order "to labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economical government, in a strictly non-partisan spirit."

In 1880 a Farmers' Union was organized in Lincoln Parish, Louisiana. In 1885 it was extended into a secret society after the fashion of the Granges and with a constitution much like that of the Texas organization. A State Union was established in 1885. The Texas Alliance and the Louisiana Farmers' Unions formed an alliance in June, 1887, called the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union of America.[4] By October, 1887, delegates were present at the national meeting from nine Southern States and by December, 1888, it was claimed that there were 10,000 alliances in sixteen states with a membership

[3] Buck, *Agrarian Crusader*, p. 112.

[4] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1890, p. 299; see also Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 115. Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

of about 400,000.[5] At the same time organization was taking place in Arkansas and in 1882 an organization called the Agricultural Wheel was started in Arkansas under similar conditions as that of Louisiana and Texas. The organization originated in a local club in Prairie County.[6] It became a state order before the close of 1882 and amalgamated with another order in the state, the Brothers of Freedom. In 1886, Tennessee and Kentucky joined Arkansas and organized the National Agrarian Wheel. In 1887, the National Agrarian Wheel was active in eight states and claimed over 500,000 members; in the same year the National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union was active in nine states and claimed a larger membership. In 1888, an amalgamation was effected between these two national organizations, under the name of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America, which name was later changed to the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. This organization became known as the Southern Alliance to distinguish it from the movement which was taking place in the Northwest simultaneously. The membership was made up of small farmers and mechanics, and in 1890 it claimed 3,000,000 male members.[7]

The political demands of the Southern Alliance as contained in their platforms adopted at St. Louis in 1889 and Ocala, Fla., in 1890 were: (1) The free coinage of silver; (2) abolition of National Banks; (3) establishment of sub-treasuries; (4) plenty of paper money; (5) government ownership of railroads; (6) non-ownership of land by foreigners; (7) prohibition of

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[6] Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 116. *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1886, p. 42.

[7] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1890, p. 301.

Southern Alliance in July, 1890, reported organization and membership in twenty-one states as follows:

In the South				In the West	
Alabama	75,000	Missouri	150,000	Colorado	5,000
Arkansas	100,000	North Carolina	100,000	Illinois	2,000
Florida	20,000	South Carolina	50,000	Indiana	5,000
Georgia	100,000	Tennessee	100,000	Kansas	100,000
Kentucky	80,000	Texas	150,000	North Dakota	40,000
Louisiana	20,000	Virginia	50,000	South Dakota	50,000
Maryland	5,000	West Virginia	2,000		
Mississippi	60,000				
Total		Total	1,062,000	Total	202,000

futures in grain; (8) reduction of the Nation's income to expenses.[8]

In the Northwest a movement similar to that which was taking place in the South was under way. The National Farmers' Alliance as this movement was styled, was organized in 1880. From the beginning it had had an avowedly political motive and the constitution stated the object of the order to be "to unite the farmers of the United States for their protection against class legislation and the encroachment of concentrated capital and the tyranny of monopoly; to oppose in our respective political parties, the election of any candidate to office, state or national, who is not thoroughly in sympathy with the farmers' interests; to demand that the existing political parties shall nominate farmers or those who are in sympathy with them, for all offices within the gift of the people, and to do everything in a legitimate way that may serve to benefit the producer." In the platform adopted at the annual meeting in October, 1881, they proposed to work for: (1) Equal taxation of all property, including deduction of the amount of mortgages from assessments of mortgaged property; (2) a graduated income tax; (3) regulation of interstate commerce; (4) reform of the patent laws; (5) reduction of salaries of officials and their election instead of appointment; (6) government bonds; (7) abolition of national banks and government issuance of money; (8) opposition to corporate ownership of land. They also denounced "the combination and consolidation of railroad capital in the maintenance of an oppressive and tyrannical railroad system."

In 1889 the Northern and Southern Alliances both held conventions in St. Louis and at that time a merger of the two alliances was attempted. The three demands made by the Northern Alliance, namely, the change of name, eligibility of negroes, and the elimination of secrecy, making it optional with the state organizations, made amalgamation impossible at this time, as the Southern Alliance refused to give up its plan of secrecy and was none too enthusiastic about including the

[8] McVey, *The Populist Movement in Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 137–139. Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, p. 233. McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, p. 278, for text of platform.

negroes. Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota deserted the Northern Alliance and joined the Southern Alliance as a result of the failure to amalgamate the two.

In 1890, the Southern Alliance in its meeting at Ocala, Fla., effected a merger with the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, an organization which had grown up since 1883 in Illinois, Nebraska, and Indiana, and which claimed 150,000 members in 1890, and with the Colored Alliance. In 1891 delegates from the Southern Alliance, the Knights of Labor and the Citizens' Alliance met in Washington for the purpose of political co-operation. By the terms of the Ocala agreement any confederation formed was bound to accept the terms of the St. Louis Platform adopted in 1889.[9] In addition to political activities there were co-operative features attached to both the Northern and the Southern Alliances.

Although by 1888 the farmers' alliance organizations throughout the country had strongly expressed their opinions upon political issues, particularly the currency question, and although both the Northern and Southern Alliances only one year later advocated in their adopted platforms essentially the planks of the Union Labor Party and the other Greenback platforms as to money, the smallness of the vote cast for Streeter, the presidential candidate of the Union Labor Party, in 1888, demonstrated that "the organized farmers were yet far from accepting the idea of separate political action,"[10] and that the hope of securing by verbal protests concessions from one of the parties was still present.

After the election of 1888, however, it became increasingly apparent that the farmer organizations were to play a more active role, both national organizations having adopted programs in 1889 which were virtually party platforms as to the currency problem. The Southern Alliance strongly advocated the sub-treasury scheme, and the Northern Alliance a land-loan bureau operated by the government. In 1890, the political activity of both these organizations was apparent throughout

[9] Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, p. 233.
[10] Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 128.

the Union. The lobbyists of the Southern Alliance together with the silver members of Congress, succeeded in forcing through the Silver Purchase Act by preventing the passage of the McKinley Tariff Bill until the eastern managers yielded to the passage of silver legislation. The passage of this act, which allowed only for the coinage of more silver, although quite a gain for the farmers, was nevertheless a poor substitute to them for the free coinage which they were demanding. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law, in response to their demand for thorough control of the trusts and the tariff legislation was equally disappointing. This disappointment was registered in the activity which was displayed in the state elections of 1890. In Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina Alliance men practically took charge of Democratic conventions and nominated Alliance men on Alliance platforms. They gained control of the Legislatures of five Southern states, elected three governors, one United States Senator, and forty-four Congressmen.[11] In the West, the political activity developed along the line of organizing independent parties. In Kansas, Nebraska and South Dakota, Alliance men gained control of the State Legislatures, while in Indiana, Michigan, and Minnesota, the results of Alliance activity gave control to the Democrats. South Dakota and Kansas elected one United States Senator each.[12] After the victories in the state elections of 1890, definite action was taken toward the amalgamation of all the Alliances into a new political party.[13]

On July 2, 1892, the first National nominating convention of the People's Party met at Omaha, Neb., and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for president on a platform which was essentially the same as the Alliance platform adopted in 1889. The declaration of principles stated that "we meet in the midst of a Nation brought to the verge of moral political and material ruin . . . the newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrated in the hands of the capitalists . . . we

[11] Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 133.
[12] For details as to the campaigns in the various states, see Haynes, *op. cit.* pp. 239–253.
[13] For details of these attempts, see *Ibid.*, pp. 254–260.

have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people." In the coming campaign, "they have agreed together to ignore every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppression of the usurers may all be lost sight of." The essential planks of the platform were:

1. A national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations.
2. Distribution of currency direct to the people as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance.
3. Free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the rates of 16 to 1.
4. Increase in the amount of circulating medium to at least $50 per capita.
5. A graduated income tax.
6. Establishment of Postal Savings Banks.
7. Government operation and ownership of railroads, telegraph and telephone systems.
8. Reclamation of all lands held by railroad and other corporations.
9. Immigration restriction laws.
10. Election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.
11. Opposition to any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.

The campaign was active and was carried out largely on the policy suggested by General Butler in 1884 when he advocated fusion with the minority wherever there was a chance of gaining anything. In the Middle West and West where the Democratic Party was in the minority, the Democrats and the People's Party were the common enemies of the Republican Party; in the South where the Republican Party was in the minority, the Alliance was in favor of the Republicans.[14]

At the general election in November, 1892, Cleveland received 5,554,226 votes, Harrison 5,175,202, and Weaver 1,041,577.[15]

[14] For details as to state alliances, see Haynes, *op. cit.* p. 265.

[15] MacPherson, *A Handbook of Politics*, 1894, p. 272. McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, p. 287.

For the first time a third party candidate had received a place in the electoral college. Cleveland received 277 of the electoral votes, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22. The states that were carried by the People's Party were: Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota and Wyoming, the Democrats adopted the People's Party ticket,[16] while in Nevada and Minnesota there was partial fusion with the Democrats. The 53d Congress meeting in August, 1893, had three Populist Senators, from Kansas, South Dakota, and Nebraska, and eight members of the House from Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Colorado, and Nevada.

The strength of the Populist movement was in the West and South. These two sections cast 82 per cent of the total vote, the total vote in the Southern States being 433,325 and in the Western States, 430,695. The agrarian movement was following the development of the frontier westward. The Middle Western States which had fostered the anti-monopoly parties in 1873 and 1874 and had furnished the majority of the voters in the Greenback Party in 1876 and 1880 cast only 13.3 per cent of the total vote in the People's Party in 1892. In three states of this section, Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan, the Populist vote was materially smaller than had been the Greenback vote in these states in 1880. Gains were made, however, in Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The New England and Middle Atlantic States combined cast only 4.7 per cent of the total vote.

The activities of the Greenback and Union Labor Parties in 1876, 1880, 1884 and 1888, and the constant discussion both within and without Congress, had forced the currency question upon both of the two main parties, and in 1892 they both inserted money planks into their platforms favoring bi-metalism under international agreement, although neither party committed itself definitely to a program, such as was being urged by the Populist element in the free coinage of silver. Further influences of past reform movements were visible in the Democratic and

[16] McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

Republican platforms of this date. Both parties had an anti-monopoly plank, the Republicans endorsing the Anti-Trust Legislation of 1890, and the Democrats demanding a more rigid enforcement of that legislation. Likewise the Republicans endorsed the past Civil Service reform laws, and the Democrats demanded more rigid enforcement of the laws. Both parties favored a guarantee of protection to railroad employees, the Democrats denouncing the Republican Senate for having thwarted such legislation. The Republican Platform also favored free postal delivery service to towns, villages and rural communities.

Encouraged by the unprecedented success in the election of 1892, the new party immediately set to work to accomplish further organization. Many of the leaders thought they saw in the enthusiastic acceptance of their new party, the death blow to the Republicans and some of them even expressed the belief that the People's Party would supplant one or the other of the two existing parties as the Republicans had supplanted the Whig Party in 1856. The prevailing unrest and the constant chafing of the agriculturalist under the continually decreasing purchasing power of his money and the increased burdens of taxation were further intensified by the financial panic of 1893 and the period of depression which followed. The attention of the country was more forcibly directed toward the money situation and the imperative necessity of action of some kind. More money seemed to be the answer and the increasing prevalence of this idea was demonstrated in the elections of 1894. In 1892, "the Populists elected 5 United States Senators, 10 Congressmen, 22 electors, 50 state officials, and 1,500 county officials and members of state legislatures, while in 1894 they elected 6 United States Senators, 7 Congressmen, 22 state officials, 150 State Senators and 315 State Representatives."[17] The successes of this new party gave tremendous concern to both the old parties, and the best proof of their concern is to be found in the rapid appearance of Populist ideas in the ranks

[17] Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, p. 281. McVey, *The Populist Movement in Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 197.

of both the parties, particularly in the Democratic Party, the party then in power.

The adoption by the Democrats of the income tax idea, which had been urged by third parties since 1880 and the inclusion of it in the Tariff Act of 1894 was a most significant instance of Populist permeation and was so regarded by current opinion of that time. A writer in the *Review of Reviews* of that year, in speaking of the passage of the income tax said: "It may be called a mighty manifestation of the working of the Populist leaven. So great a third party triumph as the acceptance by the dominant party of this income tax demand, is almost without a parallel."[18] The greatest triumph of the party, however, was in forcing the currency question into the front ranks of the political campaign of 1896, and in pushing its main issue, the free coinage of silver, into the platform of the Democratic Party. Free coinage of silver sentiment had taken hold of the leaders of the Democratic Party and to some extent the Republican by 1894. "There was strong reason for the belief that in 1894 and 1895 all that prevented the passage of a free coinage bill by Congress was the certainty of a presidential veto.[19] In 1895, a free-silver organization had been formed within the Democratic Party and free-silver sentiment grew rapidly among the Democrats of the West and South. This movement in the Democratic Party had reached such proportions before the election of delegates to the National Democratic Convention that it was currently believed silver sentiment would control the convention. This belief was confirmed when the Democratic Convention met at Chicago, July 7, 1896, and adopted a platform with the free coinage of silver as its main plank, and nominated William J. Bryan for president, largely on account of his able championship of the free-silver plank. This action of the Democratic Party marked a most signal triumph for the Populist movement. It signified the unreserved acquiescence of one of the two great parties to the demands of a reform group and the acceptance of the Democratic Platform and nominee by the

[18] *Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, p. 8. Cited by Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
[19] Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

Populist Party at their convention in St. Louis, Mo., July 22, 1896,[20] gave to the reformers for the first time a really able leader with the backing of a strong national organization.

In the fusion of the Democratic and Populist Parties of 1896, the long struggle undertaken by the anti-monopoly groups in 1873 and fostered by various third-party groups throughout the twenty-three intervening years, was ended, and for the time being the work of third parties was complete.

The appearance of the currency question in the campaign of 1896, and its dominance of all other issues forced a division in the ranks of the two main parties, and the division in both parties followed sectional lines largely. The adoption of a gold standard by the Republican Party, made the interests of the Western Republicans more in harmony with those of the silver Democrats than with the Republicans, while the free-silver platform of the Democrats was equally out of harmony with the economic interests of the Eastern wing of the Democratic Party. On September 2, 1896, the gold Democrats met in National convention at Indianapolis, Ind., and nominated John M. Palmer for president. Eight hundred and eighty-eight delegates representing forty-one states and three territories were present.[21] The platform adopted by the convention declared unreservedly for a gold standard. In the election, this branch of the Democratic Party received 133,542 votes, over one-half of which were in the New England and Middle Atlantic States.

The defeat of the Democratic candidate and the silver platform was by only about 500,000 votes, out of a total of about 14,000,000 votes cast. The strong sectional division, which had been partially obliterated by the inroads of the People's Party in 1892, was again very evident (see Chart I). The Bryan Democrats carried all states south of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana including Missouri, and all states west of the Mississippi with the exceptions of North Dakota, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, Oregon, and California.

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[20] McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 305.
[21] McKee, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

In the New England States the gold Democrats in large numbers voted with the Republicans. Sixty-seven per cent of the total vote cast was cast for the Republican Party, while only 24.5 per cent was cast for Bryan. This showed a gain of 15.2 per cent over 1892 for the Republicans in that section, and a loss of 20.2 per cent for the Democrats.[22] The third party vote was only 8.3 per cent of the total vote, a gain of 5 per cent over 1892. Once again the prestige of the old parties in New England was demonstrated, for, in spite of the fact that there was a National Democratic Party formed upon a gold standard platform, the Gold Democrats of New England preferred to win their cause in the Republican Party. The same attitude prevailed but to a lesser degree in the North Atlantic States where the Republican Party experienced a gain of 11.3 per cent in the total vote received, while there was a 10 per cent decrease in the vote cast for the Democrats, and 3.1 per cent decrease in the vote cast for third parties. The Middle West exhibited somewhat the same tendency on the part of its Republican constituency. In 1892, the Populist vote in the Middle West was drawn primarily from the Republican Party,[23] although both the Democrats and the Republicans lost to the Populist movement at this time. The Democratic decrease was less then 1 per cent, however, while that of the Republicans was 4.3 per cent. In 1896, even though the program advocated in 1892 by the Populists had been completely adopted by the Democrats and the candidates of the Democratic Party had been endorsed by the Populist Party, many of the Republicans who had withdrawn in 1892 drifted back into the ranks of the old party, and Democratic populism in the Middle West in 1896, although showing a slight increase in the actual vote cast over 1892, showed a decrease in the percentage of the total vote which was cast for the Democratic Party, while the Republican Party and the Gold Standard Platform showed an increase of practically 7 per cent.

In the West, the attitude toward party affiliations was strik-

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[22] See Chart II and Table 00.
[23] See Chart IV, and Table 00, p. 00.
[24] See Chart V, and Table 00, p. 00.

ingly different. The free-silver campaign of 1892 had drawn recruits from both parties alike.[24] The Democratic Party in that year received only 17 per cent of the total vote cast, and the Republican Party 44 per cent. In 1896, the Democratic Party and the Free Silver Platform received 54 per cent of the total vote cast, while the Republican Party showed a decrease even over 1892, and secured barely 40 per cent of the total vote. The issue and not the party was evidently in the foreground, and the celerity with which party ties were broken in the West indicated the extent to which the economic maladjustments were affecting the people of the West, and the power of these influences to direct political activity.

The Southern States, like the New England and the North Atlantic States, showed pronounced allegiance to party. Notwithstanding the fact that the foundations of the People's Party were laid in the South, and that that party had a very large following there, it is apparent from the very small decrease in the Democratic vote in 1892 that the free-silver campaign drew its recruits mainly from the Southern Republicans.[25] It is equally apparent by the very small increase in the Democratic vote in 1896 over 1892, that the Southern Republicans who had fought for free silver in 1892 did not follow that issue into the Democratic Party, but rather fell back into the ranks of the Republicans, to follow a program diometrically opposed to that which they had advocated four years before.

It is clear from the foregoing that sectional party tradition was still binding. For a time, in 1892, the radical elements, because of their common economic grievance overstepped sectional lines and joined upon an issue. When, however, that issue—the free coinage of silver—became the backbone of the platform of one of the great parties, there was an overwhelming tendency, particularly in the Southern and the Eastern States, for the radical element to drift back into the old party rather than follow their issue into the rival camp.

The political and social significance of the campaign of 1896 must be considered apart from the economic soundness of the

[25] See Chart III, and Table 00, p. 00.

currency measures proposed by the Democrats and Populists. Whether or not the free coinage of silver would have been a help or a hindrance in solving the economic and financial problems of the day, does not minimize the fact that for the first time since the Civil War the progressives had seriously challenged the dominant reactionaries and the measures advocated by the minority groups as a partial relief from the economic depressions had been assured by one of the leading parties and supported by almost half of the voting population. The economic maladjustments giving rise to Third Party activities were real. Whether or not they were beyond the realm of governmental control and subject only to economic laws which are as yet disputed, did not materially concern the farmers who were more heavily in debt year by year. The only tangible channel through which redress might come was the government and it was to the awakening of the political organizations which controlled the government to a realization of his needs that he turned his energies. The fruits of his efforts were partially realized when the Democratic Party assumed his cause, and the power of public opinion to shape political issues and policies was strongly demonstrated.

No less significant was the influence of populism upon the Republican Party. Although the Democrats had adopted the main issue of the progressive element, the Republican Party had by no means escaped the progressive spirit. During the period from 1900 to 1912 the Republican Party, under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, pressed legislative action upon many of the questions which had been the subject of third-party agitations from time to time. In 1902 Roosevelt began to advocate legislative control of the great corporations and gradually formulated his policy of government regulation of big business in the interest of the Nation rather than for the profit of a few. The first legislative act in pursuance of this policy was enacted in 1903 in the establishment of a Bureau of Corporations as a part of the Department of Commerce and Labor. The sincerity of his policy was further demonstrated by his efforts at a more rigid enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law against illegal combinations of capital in restraint of

trade, and in his efforts to bring about arbitration in the coal strike of 1902. In his message to Congress in 1904 he took a decided stand upon railroad legislation and advocated giving power to the Interstate Commerce Commission "to prescribe rates upon complaint and after full hearing, such rates to be effective until reversed by a court review." Largely as a result of his advocacy, the House passed the Esch-Townsend Bill in 1905 by a vote of 326 to 17. After a rigid Senate investigation of the railroads with much publicity the House, in February, 1906, passed another bill of similar nature, the Hepburn Bill, by a vote of 346 to 7. After extensive amendments the bill passed the Senate with but 3 dissenting votes.

By the campaign of 1908 both parties were making appeals to the progressive vote, and Theodore Roosevelt was elected president largely because of the progressive legislation which he had successfully urged. The influence of populism was further seen in the events within the Republican ranks after 1908. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill which had been passed to keep the election pledge of the Republicans was extremely unsatisfactory to the progressive element of the Republican Party and was voted against by 10 Republican Senators, 8 of whom were from the West.[26]

This division marked the beginning of the breach which resulted in the Progressive Party in 1912 with Theodore Roosevelt as its leader on a platform of social and industrial reform. That the country in general favored the progressive side is to be seen by the action within the states. After the state elections in 1910, the Republican majority in the Senate was reduced from 59 to 46 and the number of Democrats raised from 33 to 38, while the Republicans returned only 163 to the House as against 227 Democrats. Throughout 1911 the Progressive Republican element was active in the Senate and on several occasions acted with the Democrats.[27]

Through this long and slow process of permeation, the third parties had gradually forced their issues until in the election

[26] Senators from Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, South Dakota, Iowa, and Wisconsin.
[27] Haynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 398–420.

of 1912 the Democratic Party and a very strong wing of the Republican Party were advocating their cause. The results of the election of 1912 showed that the populist leaven which had started its work of reform back in 1876 had mightily influenced the nation. The combined popular vote for Wilson and Roosevelt was 10,500,000 out of 15,000,000. The nation as a whole had voted Progressive.

Aside from the manifestations of party influence as displayed by the adoption of outstanding principles urged by the two main parties there may be enumerated a whole series of legislative acts which bear witness to the fact that protest groups have not always labored in vain. Among these may be named:

1. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887.
2. The Income Tax.
3. Popular election of United States Senators.
4. Establishment of a Parcels Post.
5. Establishment of Postal Savings Banks.
6. Rural Free Delivery of Mail.
7. Anti-Trust Legislation.
8. The Federal Land Bank—practically the proposal of the Northwest Alliance for governmental loans to farmers.
9. The establishment of a Department of Labor.
10. The establishment of a Department of Agriculture.
11. A whole series of changes in the banking system, and the establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank.
12. Immigration Restriction Laws.
13. An attempt at government operation of railroads.

VII

Agricultural Discontent and the Independent Voter in 1922

Since the results of the elections of November, 1922, have been made known, there has been much speculation upon the possibility of a new party. Some have even announced its birth. The *Nation*, of November 22, 1922, in an article entitled "The Third Party Is Born," makes the statement that "the impossible has happened—the farmers and laborers have got together and a new party has been born. It does not matter that LaFollette, Brookhart and Howell in Wisconsin, Iowa and Nebraska keep the name 'Republican,' that Governor-elect Sweet, of Colorado, and Governor-elect Hunt, of Arizona, like Dill and Wheeler, the new Senators from Washington and Montana, call themselves 'Democrats.' These men stand for the same thing and they know it; the same forces elected them regardless of the label; they will work together against the things for which both old-party machines stand, and whether or not the forces which elected them frankly take the name 'Farmer-Labor Party' as did the forces which elected that stalwart six-foot-two son of the Vikings, Henrik Shipstead, Senator from Minnesota, they are a farmer-labor party. The fusion has been effected, and henceforth the farmer-labor alliance of the producing forces of the country in the Middle West is a political fact."

The success of the progressive element in the West is quite generally attributed to the Non-Partisan League which is credited with having discovered the means of creating the machinery for a third-party movement by working with or capturing the machinery of one of the two main parties and electing to office men who make their campaign upon present economic issues rather than upon past party principles. The new party is said to be the Democratic Party in Washington, Montana, Colorado, Oklahoma and Arizona, and the Republican

Party in Wisconsin, Iowa and Nebraska. The Republican Party in both North and South Dakota heed its presence and the Democrats of Kansas are prone in its direction.

The outstanding election results were those in the above-named states. In Minnesota, the Farmer-Labor Party elected Shipstead to the United States Senate; sent five out of ten Congressmen to Washington; gained control of the State Legislature and came near electing a Democratic governor. Senator LaFollette made an active campaign for Shipstead and advocated throughout, the formation of a third party to "bring back government to the people." Mr. Hedges in an article in the *Nation* of November 22, 1922, says of Shipstead's victory, "It must be seen as marking a political movement in advance of LaFollette's, or Brookhart's, or Frazier's, who technically at least, are Republicans." That the economic situation of the farmers throughout the state just prior to the election is largely responsible for the magnitude of the victory in the end is also intimated by the writer. Says he, "Late in September came the great potato catastrophe. Minnesota farmers with their biggest crop of potatoes—nearly 30,000,000 bushels—were without cars for transportation and without a market price to make it profitable to dig them. Wheat which cost on the average of $1.57 a bushel to sow and reap brought only 80 cents a bushel to the man who sowed and reaped it. These conditions were aggravated by the coal and railroad strikes. In the face of these conditions talk about 'improved agricultural conditions,' 'reduced taxes,' and 'prosperity' fell flat."

In Colorado, William E. Sweet was elected governor on a radical platform in the Democratic Party. Fighting against practically the entire press of the state he stumped Colorado from end to end and says Garritson in the *Nation*,[1] "Won the fight by the sheer force of his persuasion and by his progressive ideas. He went before the voters with a demand for a living wage as a minimum wage for labor and for a system of co-operative marketing and state storage for farmers. He branded the Colorado rangers and state constabulary as tools of the corporate

[1] *Nation*, Vol. XXXII, No. 416.

interests and pledged their abolition." He gained the endorsement of the Colorado State Federation of Labor. He is pledged to be independent of party interests and promised during his campaign, "That if he failed to carry his program through the Legislature on party lines he would seek to form a farmer and labor bloc to force a living wage for workers and a fair return for farmers."

In Montana and Washington, progressivism invaded the Democratic Party and elected Dill to the Senate from Washington, and Wheeler from Montana. A correspondent from Montana to the *Nation* in discussing the growth of liberal and progressive feelings in Montana said, "Two years ago Mr. Wheeler ran for governor of Montana on the Democratic ticket. The Non-Partisan League was raising its head for the first time in Montana politics, and the local Democrats and Republicans, fearful of a repetition of the North Dakota trick, booed and snarled with one accord, but to no effect. The Non-Partisans swarmed like bees into the Democratic primaries, while the terrified Democrats fled from their own ticket and voted *en masse* for the Republican candidate. The abuse with which the newspapers assailed Mr. Wheeler in that campaign because of the non-partisan support becomes humorous in the light of the commendation accorded him this fall by those same newspapers. Mr. Wheeler was endorsed in the primaries by the Conference for Progressive Political Action (labor unions, the Farmers' Union, etc.), and again by the Non-Partisan League."

In Michigan where there has been no Democratic United States Senator for seventy years, the electors turned aside to defeat a Republican Senator of twelve years' service, Senator Townsend, and to elect Ferris, a Democrat. Ferris has served Michigan for two terms in the capacity of governor, in 1912 and 1916. The disapproval of the Fordney-McCumber tariff, and Newberryism, were the issues which gave his campaign prestige.

The Republicans of Wisconsin, Iowa and Nebraska elected United States Senators known to be of progressive ideas: La Follette from Wisconsin, Brookhart from Iowa, Howell from Nebraska.

The election of Democratic and liberal Congressmen has once more cut down the lead of the Republican majority so that the liberal element in the Republican Party and the progressives are in a position to somewhat control legislation. Newspaper comment generally expresses the opinion that Congress will now be controlled by the radical group. Comment in the *Nation* asserts,[2]

> *Nation*[2] asserts, "The liberal bloc is here and is in the saddle. The Harding administration will henceforth have to make terms with Borah, LaFollette, Ladd, Norris and Johnson, with whom will now stand Frazier of North Dakota, Howell of Nebraska, Shipstead of Minnesota, Brookhart of Iowa, and probably on many occasions, Reed of Missouri. . . . The opportunities which rise before this group are almost overwhelming. They can make over the policies of the Republican Party, they can revive all the Progressive enthusiasm of 1912, they can bloc further blunders of the Harding administration, they can dictate the next Republican presidential candidate or they can discard that party and build a new one, secure in the feeling that they represent the popular desire. . . . The ferment which the election clearly reveals is a most hopeful augury that the day is not far off when voting may again be for constructive policies instead of merely against officials or party."

It is clear from all the campaign platforms throughout the West that the so-called newer issues upon which the recent victories have been won are economic issues. It will further appear that they are fundamentally the same as those which have caused third parties to enter the field of politics in the past. It is primarily the same old story. The two old parties having been broken from their moorings and forced to take hold of some of the newer economic issues of that period, after 1896, have again tended to rest upon their oars and feel content with their past progressivism. In the meantime, we have been engaged in a war which has further tended to obscure domestic party policies. In emerging from the economic disturbances incident to the waging of the war, the burden of the economic depression, as in the period from 1865 to 1882, has again fallen more heavily upon one group of the population, namely, the agriculturalists and labor, than upon the others.

[2] Vol. 115, No. 2994, p. 540.

We have seen how, during the period from 1896 to 1912, the proposals of the Populists were being adopted by the Democratic and Republican Parties. The Greenback issue passed from the public attention chiefly because of the unanticipated increase in our supply of gold, and the situation which had given rise to the Greenback idea as a possible solution was thereby removed. The appearance on the part of both parties of having adopted the progressive spirit, combined with the increasing prosperity of the agricultural group throughout the period from 1908 to the middle of 1919, served to remove, for a time, the immediate incentive to organization on the part of the farmers. As will be seen from Charts VI and VII, the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar after 1908 was above 100 per cent until the middle of 1919. In 1909 and 1910 it was as high as 112 and in 1919 it reached the high point of 122. That the farmers of the country were generally more prosperous during this period is further evidenced by the decrease in the number of owned farms which were mortgaged in 1910 over 1900 and in 1900 over 1890. In 1900, Wyoming, Arizona, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota, Montana, North Dakota and New Mexico, showed an actual decrease in the number of farms mortgaged while many states had less than 2.5 per cent increase. The latter included Nevada, Illinois, New York, New Jersey, Oregon, California, Vermont, Michigan, Wisconsin, Idaho. In 1910, West Virginia, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Nevada, New York, Colorado, New Jersey, Nebraska and Iowa showed a decrease over 1900. Thus, it appears that the farmers throughout the country, and particularly in the Middle West and West, were relatively better off than they had been since the Civil War. During the war period the farmer came for a brief space of time to receive very high prices for his products, but that whatever gains he may have made at that time have not been sufficient to tide him over the period of depression is to be seen in the tremendous increase in farm mortgages in 1920, particularly in the Middle West and the West.

Table XIV shows that every state in both these sections experienced an increase in farm mortgages. The percentage of increase for the Middle West was between 3 and 4 per cent

TABLE XIV

PERCENTAGE OF OWNED FARMS MORTGAGED—BY STATES AND DIVISIONS 1890–1920

	1920	1910	1900	1890		1920	1910	1900	1890
United States	41	34	31	28	Nev	36	17	19	17
Geog. Division	..	..	..	..	Del	37	37	26	29
New England	40	35	34	28	Md	37	37	36	30
Middle Atlantic	41	38	40	37	Tex	40	33	23	6
East, North, Cen	46	41	39	37	Ind	41	39	37	33
West North Cen	57	46	44	48	Ill	42	39	39	37
West South Cen	41	31	18	5	Wyo	45	20	12	13
Mountain	52	21	14	14	N. Y	47	44	46	44
Pacific	52	37	28	29	Mass	47	41	39	31
					Ariz	48	13	6	7
States:					Utah	48	43	11	6
West Va	16	13	14	13	Conn	48	43	41	31
N. C	19	19	16	5	Wash	49	34	22	27
Va	20	16	15	3	Ore	50	34	25	23
Tenn	23	17	12	3	Colo	50	26	26	26
Fla	25	15	10	3	N. J	50	50	52	49
La	25	19	18	4	Vt	50	47	47	44
S. C	25	24	21	8	Mo	51	46	42	36
Ky	26	20	15	4	Kans	52	45	42	56
Ga	27	19	15	3	Mich	52	48	48	49
N. M	27	5	2	3	Calif	55	41	32	33
Maine	30	27	28	22	Minn	56	46	45	46
Ala	30	27	19	4	Neb	57	39	45	52
N. H	31	26	26	22	Iowa	59	52	53	53
Miss	31	32	27	8	Okla	60	43	9	..
Ohio	32	29	30	29	Wisc	62	51	46	43
R. I	33	30	27	19	Idaho	63	33	16	16
Penna	34	31	32	27	S. D	63	38	37	52
Ark	34	21	14	4	Mont	65	21	14	16
D. C	35	18	19	4	N. D	76	51	31	49

[1] *United States Census of Agriculture*, 1900 and 1920. See also, Report of the Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry, 1921, Part I, *The Agricultural Crisis and Its Cause*, p. 206.

over 1910, with the exception of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota where the perecntage was 8, 10, 11, respectively. In all the Western States, except Washington and California, the increase was from 15 to 36 per cent over 1910. In practically all the states of both sections over half of the owned farms were mortgaged and several states had a much higher percentage—Wisconsin, 62 per cent; Iowa, 59 per cent; North Dakota, 76 per cent; South Dakota, 73 per cent; Nebraska, 56 per cent; Montana, 65 per cent; Idaho, 63 per cent. It is worthy of comment

in connection with the recent elections that all the states showing an unusual amount of liberal tendencies had an exceedingly high percentage of their farms under mortgage in 1920.

A further indication of the plight of the farmers in the United States at the present time is revealed by a study of the price indices of groups of commodities as presented in Chart VIII.[3] The break in farm prices began in February, 1920, while the break in other groups of commodities was from one to six months later. During the period of rapidly falling prices from May, 1920, to August, 1921, the prices of farm products fell much faster and to lower levels than did prices of other commodities. In June, 1921, the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar reached the low point of 77 and it has never been 100 per cent since that time.

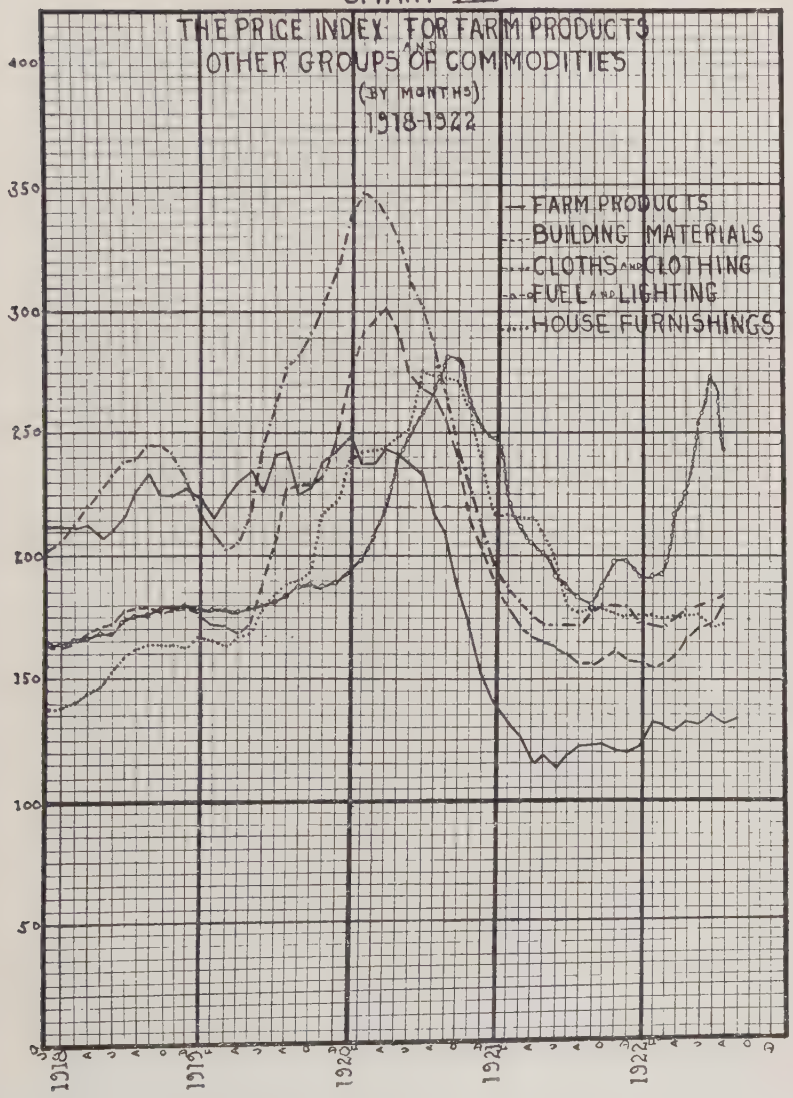
The pressure of hard times and the realization of economic disadvantage has again spurred the agricultural group to political action and they have entered the political field with the same enthusiasm that characterized the Anti-Monopoly group of 1873 and 1874. If we can read a lesson from the past it is fairly safe to conclude that the new progressives will wield a powerful influence upon legislation and party policies in the immediate future. It is also safe to conclude that in the course of time one or both of the old parties will be forced to take over the measures that are now being urged by the progressives and we will have another example of the ability of the protest group to force present economic issues into the foreground of political activity and to compel the old political machines, which are still more binding than their policies should warrant, to accept their issues.

That the party in power is already mindful of the recent independent action is indicated by an address given by Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, in Akron, Ohio, March 21, 1923. Senator Borah said: "Political conditions are distressingly unsatisfactory to both political parties. The voter is alarmingly

[3] Chart VIII is drawn from the Monthly Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, by groups of commodities.

[4] *Elmira Advertiser*, March 22, 1923.

CHART VIII


THE PRICE INDEX FOR FARM PRODUCTS AND OTHER GROUPS OF COMMODITIES
(BY MONTHS)
1918-1922
FARM PRODUCTS
BUILDING MATERIALS
CLOTHS AND CLOTHING
FUEL AND LIGHTING
HOUSE FURNISHINGS
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
1918
1919
1920
1921
1922

independent. Party lines are shadowy and uncertain. Party leaders seem confused. . . . If I were to suggest the underlying fundamental vice of American politics I would unhesitatingly declare that it consists in playing the game on too low a standard—far below the level of both the intelligence and patriotism of the voter. . . . We are still trying to hold together and win battles by the power of patronage, the appeal to past party achievements and denunciation of the opposition. It is a fearful mistake. It is bringing us to the brink of political disaster and ruin. The people are far ahead of their leaders both in conception of duty and courage. If we can once understand this fact and believe it, it will rescue the Republican Party from its present perilous situation and render incalculable service to the country.

"I do not turn aside to discuss third-party movements. Such a movement is not impossible, not even improbable. But the old parties have it within their power to put an end to all such movements by courageously meeting and dealing with the problems at hand in a thorough fashion. Let us make no mistake as Republicans, about the seriousness of the outlook. To misread the popular demand at this particular juncture means something more to the party than temporary defeat. The undercurrent is strong and somewhat unruly, but it belongs to any party which discovers it and harnesses it to the

Thus the two predominant parties are made to extend their platforms and to adjust their policies to the needs of the ever-changing economic demands of the various groups which compose our population.

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